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JOURNAL

OF THE

GANGANATHA JHA KENDRIYA SANSKRIT VIDYAPEETHA

(Formerly Ganganatha Jha Research Institute)

ALLAHABAD

GANGANATHA JHA CENTENARY VOLUME

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I am glad to know that the Centenary of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha will be celebrated shortly. Dr. Jha was an eminent indologist and reputed scholar who made a significant contribution towards the revival of our ancient learning. I offer my tribute to his memory and send my best wishes for the success of the centenary celebrations.

V V Giri

PREFACE

The G. N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha has decided to celebrate the Centenary of Pt. Gaṅgānātha Jhā this year and amongst the items of the celebration, one is to issue a Volume. A life sketch of Pt. Gaṅgānātha Jha is being included in this. The Pandit was a most distinguished teacher of Sanskrit in Northern India during the twentieth century and he excercised an ennobling, influence on all his pupils by his simple and unostentatious way of living and by his unique devotion to scholarship. He believed in the publication of the research and study. While he was a Professor at the Muir Central College, he brought out a research journal called the "Indian Thought". As Vice-Chancellor of the University of Allahabad, he brought out the "Allahabad University Studies" an annual publication which contains research articles of the teachers and research scholars of various departments of the University. As Principal of the Govt. Sanskrit College, Benaras, he brought out the "Sarasvati Bhawan Studies". To keep this torch of publication burning, this Vidyapeetha has been publishing this Research Journal.

I am grateful to the contributors of the articles contained in this volume. I hope Indologists will appreciate the high quality of these articles.

I express my sincere appreciation and thanks to Dr. M. D. Balasubrahmanyam, Reader (now Principal, Sri Sadashiva Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Puri) and Dr. B. N. Misra, Librarian of the Vidyapeetha for their valuable help in collecting and editing the articles included in the Volume.

Our thanks are also due to Dr. Goparaju Rama, Research Officer, and Sri Chandra Sekhar Shukla, Research Asstt. of the Vidyapeetha for their help in the difficult task of proof correction and looking at the proper presentation of the material in the Volume. Above all, I record my appreciation of the help rendered by Dr. Mahabir Prasad Lakhera, Lecturer in

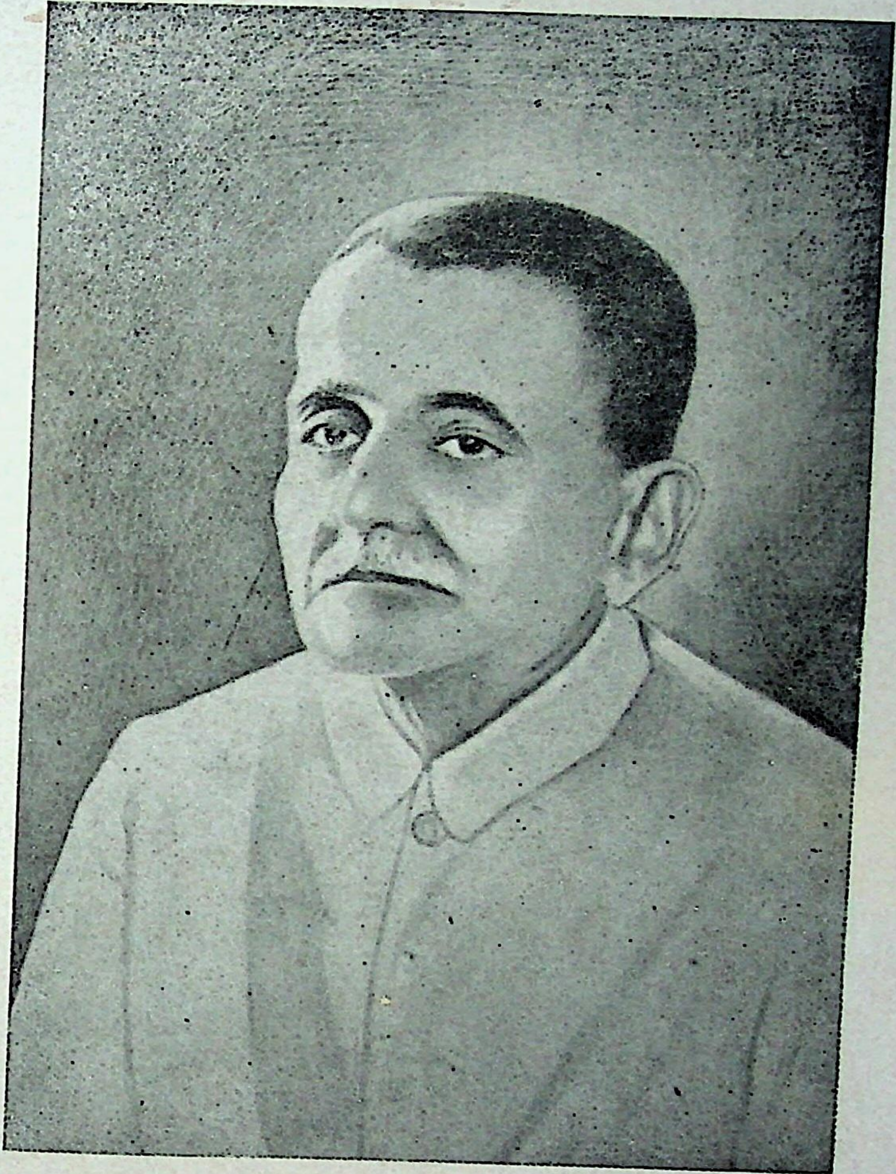
Sanskrit, University of Allahabad in going through the proof corrections and scholarly advice in preparation of this Volume.

We appreciate the services of Messers Allahabad Block Works for their efficiency and nice printing.

40b, M. L. Nehru Road
Allahabad, U. P.
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BABU RAM SAKSENA
Chairman,
Editorial Board.

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Dr. Gaṅgānātha Jha
(1871—1941 A. D.)

प्रसूनाञ्जलिः

(१)

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(२)

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(४)

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(५)

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(६)

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(७)

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(८)

गङ्गानाथप्रसृमरयशश्चन्द्रिकाधौतहर्म्यं
कूजद्विद्वद्विहगनिवहानेकगीताभिरामम् ।
काले काले कुसुमितनवान्वेषणाऽऽमोदिताशं
विद्यापीठं जयतु जगतां भूयसे मङ्गलाय ॥

बटुकनाथ शास्त्री खिस्ते

PAṆḌITA ŚRĪ GAṄGĀNĀTHA JHĀ

1871—1941 A. D.

Dr. Ganganath Jha, one of the most eminent Sanskrit scholars and distinguished educationists, was born in September 1871, in the district of Darbhanga in North Bihar. His early education commenced at his village home, and, later, he entered the Darbhanga Raj School, in 1880. He passed the Entrance, (i. e., the Matriculation) examination in 1886, at the early age of fourteen, and then joined the Queen's College at Varanasi, one of the premier educational institutions, at that time, in Northern India. He passed the Intermediate Examination in 1888, in the first division, standing eleventh in the list of successful candidate of the Calcutta University—as there was then no Allahabad University, in existence, to say nothing of the Patna University—and first amongst those of the North-West Provinces and Oudh. He won the Vizianagaram medal, and also secured a Government scholarship, besides obtaining the Mitra Medal, for standing first in Sanskrit. In 1890, he graduated by taking the B. A. degree, standing first in the Allahabad University, with honours in philosophy, and crowned a brilliant academic career by taking the degree of Master of Arts when he was just twenty-one.

In 1893, Dr. Jha was appointed Librarian of the Darbhangā Rāj Library. Maharaja Sir Lakshmeshwar Singh, the then proprietor of the Darbhanga estate, desired very much that his library should be one of the richest in the country, before it was thrown open to the public. Dr. Jha was entrusted with the task of re-organising the Library, with that object. He set about his work with zeal and earnestness, all his own, and with the financial grants which he received from the Maharaja, he was able, in no time, to make a large and excellent collection of books, including valuable manuscripts in Sanskrit. During the period he was in charge of that Library, he also utilized his time, to great advantage, by making a deep study of Hindu Law and philosophy, in the original Sanskrit texts. Here he translated, into English, some difficult Sanskrit works on Hindu philosophy, which established his reputation as a sound

Sanskrit scholar. He remained, in charge of the Raj Library, at Darbhanga, till 1902. In 1902, Dr. Jha resigned the post of the Librarian, at Darbhanga, and came to Allahabad as Professor of Sanskrit, at the Muir Central College. Dr. Thibaut, a very distinguished Sanskrit scholar, who was the then Principal of the College, liked Dr. Jha immensely, and it was mainly due to his initiative and support that he (Dr. Jha) entered the Provincial Educational Service in November, 1902. As a professor of Sanskrit he became very popular with all his superiors, as well as his colleagues and subordinates. He proved himself a highly sucessful teacher, and was immensely liked by all the students, who had an opportunity to sit at his feet.

In 1805, Dr. Jha was nominated a Fellow of the Allahabad University, and also a member of the Faculty of Arts. In 1907, he began to edit, with the co-operation of Dr. Thibaut, a learned quarterly journal called "Indian Thought," which was mainly devoted to the printing of English translations of important texts of Sanskrit literature. On Dr. Jha's transfer to Varanasi, in 1918, it ceased to exist. In the year 1909, he appeared for the degree of Doctor of Letters for which he wrote an erudite thesis, both in English and Sanskrit, on one of the leading systems of Hindu Philosophy, the Prabhākara school of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā. He received the degree of Doctor of Literature, at the annual Convocation of the Allahabad University, held in November 1909, being the first to receive such a signal honour. In 1910, the title of Mahamahopodhyaya, was conferred on him by Government, in recognition of his very high position in the domain of oriental learning and scholarship. In 1918, he was transferred to Varanasi, where he held the important post of the Principal of the Sanskrit College, being the first Indian to occupy that office with great credit and distinction. In 1921, he was promoted to the Indian Educational Service, the highest official cadre, and was nominated by the Governor-General as a member of the Council of State of India, at Delhi. In 1925, the Allahabad University, in appreciation of his deep learning and erudite scholarship, in the domain of Sanskrit Literature, conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Law, *honoris causa*, and the Banaras Hindu University in 1936, conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature. He thus served as a Profesor of Sanskrit at the Muir Central College, at Govt. Sanskrit College, Varanasi from 1902 to

1923, that is for the long period of twenty-one years, and his work, in both these important offices, justly brought him great credit and renown. His work at Varanasi established also his reputation as a sound administrator. He enjoyed the rare distinction of being elected, in 1941, a corresponding member of the British Academy, the only other Indian to share that distinction being Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the Spalding Professor at the Oxford University, and a scholar of international reputation. He was also an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of London.

Apart from being a distinguished scholar and renowned educationist, Dr. Jha possessed, as a man, high moral character, genial temperament, and generous outlook. These traits of his character were brought into striking relief during his tenure of office as Vice-Chancellor, which covered the long period of nine years (three terms of three years each). This was the crowning summit of his distinguished career, as an educationist. He held that exalted office for nine years, and served the University with unparalleled devotion and success, enjoying, in an unequalled measure, the confidence alike of his colleagues, the staff, and the students.

After the successful termination of his Vice-Chancellorship, in 1932, when Dr. Jha left the University, the latter gave him a grand farewell. Sir Malcolm (later: Lord) Hailey, the then brilliant Chancellor of the Allahabed University, in the course of his valedictory address, on that memorable occasion happily described Dr. Jha as "unassuming and unostentatious". This great function was but a fitting tribute to the splendid services of one who had presided over a great seat of learning, with the distinction of an experienced administrator, but with the simplicity of the ideals of scholars associated with the inmates of Ashramas in ancient India. Dr. Jha had often criticised the Government for its niggardliness towards the system of higher education imparted at the University. Such frank expressions of his opinion naturally caused a flutter in the bureaucratic dovecots of the official hierarchy; but he never refrained from uttering what he regarded as truth, in the interest of the great institution over which he so successfully presided. He thus left a unique record amongst the successful Vice-Chancellors of Indian Universities. When he was retiring from the office of the Vice-Chancellor, the

Allahabad University Court decided to name a new hostel after him, so as to commemorate his long association with the University, and also recommended to the Chanc llor Dr. Jha's appointment as a life Member of the Court, which was given effect to, as desired by them.

Dr. Jha's studies in Sanskrit literature covered a wide range, and extended to law, philosophy, prosody, and other branches of ancient Indian Learning, and among Indian scholars he occupied a prominent place in the front rank. His numerous works are sufficient to form by themselves a decent and highly useful collection for a student of Sanskrit studies. His "Calcutta University Kamala Lectures", delivered in 1926, were published under the title of Philosophical Discipline, and form an instructive study. For the translation of the Mīmāṁsā Sūtras of Jaimini, he was awarded the Campbell Gold Medal by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1937. He also delivered a learned and luminous course of lectures at Baroda, which published, in 1939, under the title of Śaṅkarācārya and his work for the uplift of the country. In 1940 he delivered another course of lectures (founded by the late Maharaja Sir Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga) which was issued under the title of Vedant Philosophy. He thus delivered many course of lectures and presided over many learned conferences, and his scholastic activities extended over a vast field, with the result that his name will long continue to be a household word even amongst the scholars. Professor Otto Strauss, one of the most eminent Indologists of Germany, in the course of the letter, he wrote to Dr. Jha: "Dear Mahamahopadhyaya, It is this old and beautiful title among all you bear, with which I beg to address you on your sixtieth birthday, for you have been real Upadhyaya to all of us, who strive to understand the philosophical systems of ancient India. Without your works on Mīmāṁsa Nyāyā, and Vedanta, I could not have written the humble contribution, which you perhaps know by name. You appear to me as the happpy blend of ancient Pandit with his depth of knowledge, and of the modern scholar with his wide horizon. May God grant you many years to come, in such a freshness, that your labour for the good of all who are approaching the jewels of ancient Indian thought". Than this there could be no higher praise for an Indian scholor of Sanskrit, coming as it did from one of the greatest European scholars of Indian Philosophy.

Dr. Jha had been long since recognised as one of the greatest scholars in India. He was elected President of the second Philosophical Conference, and the third Oriental Conference, held at Madras in 1924. Besides receiving, as mentioned above, the Campbell Gold Medal, conferred on him by the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland elected him, in 1937, an honorary member, which was a very high distinction, as it is confined to but thirty foreign orientalists of outstanding merit The British Academy also, as stated above, elected him, in 19 1, an honorary corresponding Fellow, a distinction which but one other Indian has yet received. Government were rather late in recognising his outstanding contributions to scholarship, for it was but a few months before his death, in November, 1941, that he was knighted. Some friends and pupils of Dr. Jha presented to him, in 1932, a Commemoration Volume of essays on oriental subjects, on the completion of his sixtieth year, in 1931. The contributors included several European scholars of international reputation, including Dr. Keith, Dr. Winternitz, Dr. Konow, Prof. Thieme, Dr. Otto Strauss etc. Dr. Jha's whole life was thus devoted to the study, exposition, and popularisation of Sanskrit literature, in general, and of Indian philosophy, in particular. It is but fair to state that it is due to his translations of Indian philosophical classics that there is now the wide spread interest in Indian philosophy, both in India and outside the country. Dr. Jha was a practical philosopher, who, while living in great simplicity, achieved the highest distinction in the domain of learning and scholarship. He died after seeing his second son—Professor Amarnath Jha—elected, in 1938 to the Vice-Chancellorship of the Allahabad University.

Soon after Dr. Jha's death in 1941, there was an earnest desire expressed that his services to research and scholarship should be commemorated by the establishment of a suitable memorial. Accordingly steps were taken by the friends and admirers of the deceased scholar and funds were raised for the object in view. On the second anniversary of his death, in November, 1943, the Ganganatha Jha Memorial was duly inaugurated, at Allahabad, by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, at a representative meeting, presided over by the Right H'onrable Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The Memorial is a well

equipped Institute of research in oriental languages. It has a Library of about twenty thousand books. Many manuscripts, some of them being on palm-leaves, have been received by the Institute which has also started this quarterly, called The Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha. Its first issue appeared in November, 1943, and it will worthily sustain a high standard of research in oriental languages. And so, Allahabad, already a great educational and cultural centre, has had now added another to its great institutions, with the opening of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha (formerly Ganganatha Jha Research Institute). It was in the fitness of things that this highly useful institution, which will commemorate Dr. Jha's services to learning and scholarship, should have been established at Allahabad, the sacred city with which he had been so long associated, and which will keep alive the memory of a great scholar, of whom it can justly be said, in the words of Bhartṛhari—

जयन्ति ते सुकृतिनः रससिद्धाः कवीश्वराः ।
नास्ति येषां यशःकाये जरामरणजं भयम् ।।

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Ad.	Advaita.
Al.	Alaṅkāra.
Bi.	Bibliography.
Bu.	Buddhism.
Dh.	Dharmaśāstra.
Gr.s.	Gṛhyasūtra.
His.	History.
Mi.	Mīmāṁsā.
Ny.	Nyāya.
Ph.	Philosophy.
Pu.	Purāṇa.
S.Dr.	Sanskrit Drama.
SS.	Sanskrit Literature.
Srauta	Śrauta Sūtra.
Up.	Upanishad.
Vai.	Vaiśeṣikadarśanam.
Yo.	Yoga

लोकसंग्राहक सदाचार

आचार्य पण्डितराज राजेश्वरशास्त्री द्राविडः, वाराणसी

देश में एकता बनाए रखने के लिए भगवान शंकराचार्यजी ने जो उपदेश दिया है उसको हम यहाँ प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं।

"वेदो नित्यमधीयतां तदुदितं कर्म स्वनुष्ठीयताम्
तेनेशस्य विधीयतामपचितिः काम्ये मतिस्त्यज्यताम्"

जब तक देश में उक्त उपदेश की मान्यता थी तबतक किसी भी प्रकार की समस्याएँ उपस्थित नहीं हुई थी, किन्तु वर्तमान तार्किक युग में प्रायशः हर एक वर्ग वैदिक कर्मों के प्रति कटुता का अनुभव कर रहा है, तथा दूर भागना चाहता है, यह उचित होगा या नहीं इतना ही समझने के लिए यहाँ प्रयास किया जा रहा है।

सर्व साधारण व्यक्ति संयत होकर व्यवहार करना पसन्द नहीं करता, ऐसा करने में वह दुःख का अनुभव करता है, वैदिक कर्म करने में संयत रहना अपेक्षित है, इसलिये वह कटु होता है। उदाहरणार्थ, गुडूच एक औषध है, वह अत्युत्तम है, तथापि एकमात्र कटु होने से मनुष्य व्यवहार में उसको स्वीकार नहीं करता, पर वही व्यक्ति जब रोग का शिकार होता है तब कटु होने पर भी गुडूच को अपनाता है। इसकी कटुता, सफलता के पीछे छिप जाती है। वैदिक कर्म के अपनाने पर जो शंकराचार्य उपदेश दे रहे हैं, उसके अन्दर ऐसा ही भाव निहित है। यह तथ्य वर्तमान तार्किक युग नहीं समझ रहा है, परिणामतः दिन पर दिन हम रोग के शिकार हो रहे हैं। तथापि तार्किकों को रोग से बचने का उपाय सोचने के लिए समय नहीं है, न तो शंकराचार्य जैसे महान् वैद्यों के बतलाए हुए उपदेशों को वह सोचता है। इस पर भी यहाँ यह ध्यान देना होगा कि 'समय नहीं है' यह कहकर वर्तमान तार्किक वर्ग रोग से छुट्टी नहीं पाएगा प्रत्युत रोग बढ़ता ही जाएगा। वह रोग कौन सा है? यह देखना है। प्राणी सुख की अपेक्षा रखता है, उसके दो प्रकार होते हैं-(१) संसार को त्याग कर एकान्त में बैठे रहना, (२) अपने प्रति प्रत्येक वर्ग का सद्भाव बनाए रखना। सांसारिक प्राणी

आत्माराम है। तब तो उसकी दृष्टि में यह त्याज्य है। प्रत्येक प्राणी को आत्माराम होने का सौभाग्य न होने से संसार में रहना अपेक्षित है। अतः प्रत्येक वर्ग के साथ सद्भाव बनाए रखना नितान्त अपेक्षित होता है। क्योंकि प्रत्येक वर्ग को अपने प्रति अश्रद्धा हो अथवा क्रोध बना रहे तो हमारा जीवन खतरे में रहेगा। यह प्रत्येक प्राणी जानता है।

इतिहास में अनेकों उदारहण मिलते हैं जहाँ पुत्र, स्त्री, भ्राता, माता पिता आदि ने एक दूसरे का वध किया है। इस स्थिति में जीवन को सुखी बनाए रखना कठिन है। अतः बुद्धिमत्ता इसीमें है कि जो क्रूर स्वभाव के हों उनको छोड़कर बाकी जो भी इष्ट मित्र, आप्त और सम्बन्धी हैं उनके अन्तःकरण में अपने प्रति सद्भाव बनाए रखे। परन्तु निम्नलिखित रोग से पीड़ित होने पर उपर्युक्त सिद्धि का होना संभव नहीं है।

थोड़े में रोगों का विवेचन करना हो तो हम यह कहेंगे कि अजितेन्द्रियता अर्थात् विकारिता याने असंयतपना ही रोग हैं। इसमें अपनी स्वार्थलिप्सा है, दूसरे का अपमान है, मिथ्या भाषण है, आलस्य एवं अशुचिता है, असहिष्णुता है, निन्दा है. बड़ों की असंगति है, आत्मीयता सीमित है, पर-दुःख की कल्पना नहीं है, अर्थ-लाभ ही लक्ष्य है, नवीन को प्राप्त करने में दौड़ है, कठोरता है, परोपकारिता से शून्य है, इस स्थिति में मेरा कौन है, ? मैं कौन हूँ ? यह निर्णय करना कठिन है। विश्वास नाम की वस्तु समाप्त है, सर्वत्र कानून का बल है, लोभ की अधीनता है। अतः यह निश्चित है कि अजितेन्द्रियतात्मक रोग से घिरने पर किसको प्रसन्नता, संतोष आदि मिल सकता है ?

अब प्रश्न यह है कि वैदिक कर्म के नियन्त्रण में क्या हम उपर्युक्त रोगों से बच सकते हैं ? यदि वैदिक कर्म का वास्तविक रूप समझा जाय तो उक्त प्रश्न का समाधान होगा।

वेद का ध्येय है—

"न मे स्तेनो जनपदे न कदर्यो न मद्यपः।
नानाहिताग्निर्नाविद्वान् न स्वैरी स्वैरिणी कुतः ॥"

इस ध्येय को पूर्ण करने के लिए परम्परागत संस्कृति के नाम पर लोक-संग्राहक आचार नीतिशास्त्र में उपवर्णित है, वही वैदिक कर्म है।

"वाक् सुनृता दया दानं दीनोपगतरक्षणम् ।
इति सङ्गः सतां साधु हितं सत्पुरुषव्रतम् ॥
शुचिरास्तिक्यपूतात्मा पूजयेद्देवताः सदा ।
देवतावद्गुरुजनमात्मवच्च सुहृज्जनम् ॥
प्रणिपातेन हि गुरून् सतोऽनूचानचेष्टितैः ।
कुर्वीताभिमुखान् भूत्यै देवान् सुकृतकर्मणा ॥
सद्भावेन हरेन्मित्रं सम्भ्रमेण च बान्धवान् ।
स्त्रीभृत्यान् प्रेमदानाभ्यां दाक्षिण्येनेतरं जनम् ॥
अनिन्दा परकृत्येषु स्वधर्मपरिपालनम् ।
कृपणेषु दयालुत्वं सर्वत्र मधुरा गिरः ॥
प्राणैरप्युपकारित्वं मित्रायाव्यभिचारिणे ।
गृहागते परिष्वङ्गः शक्त्या दानं सहिष्णुता ॥
स्वसमृद्धिष्वनुत्सेकः परवृद्धिष्वमत्सरः ।
नान्योपतापि वचनं मौनव्रतचरिष्णुता ॥
बन्धुभिर्बद्धसंयोगः सुजने चतुरस्रता ।
तच्चित्तानुविधायित्वं इतिवृत्तं महात्मनाम् ॥
सनातने वर्त्मनि साधु तिष्ठता भयं हि पन्था गृहमेधिनां मतः ।
अनेन गच्छन्नियतं महात्मनामिमं च लोकं परमं च विन्दति ॥

(का· नी. ३. अ.)

लोकसंग्रह के उद्देश्य से उपर्युक्त संगठनात्मक सदाचार का विवेचन निम्नलिखित दस वर्ग के विभाजन के साथ है। इस समय देशी राज्य एवं जमीन्दारी प्रथा का समूल उन्मूलन जो हुआ है इसका कारण भी नीतिसारकार की दृष्टि में दशविध वर्ग विभागों के संग्राहक, संगठनात्मक सदाचारों का अभाव ही प्रतीत होता है। यह बात निम्नलिखित तालिका से स्पष्ट हो जायगीः—

(१) देवतावर्ग—शुचिरास्तिक्यपूतात्मा पूजयेद्देवताः सदा 'देवान् सुकृतकर्मणा' (यागादि कर्मणा गन्धपुष्पधूपोपहारादिना च)

(२) गुरूवर्ग—'देवतावद् गुरुजनम्' (प्रणिपातेन हि गुरून्)

(३) सुहृद्वर्ग—'आत्मवच्च सुहृज्जनम्' (सद्भावेन हरेन्मित्रम्, प्राणैरप्यु पकारित्वम्)

(४) विद्यावृद्धवर्ग——'सतोऽनूचानचेष्टितैः' (सुजने चतुरस्रता, तच्चित्तानुविधायित्वम्)

(५) बन्धुवर्ग——सम्भ्रमेण च बान्धवान् (बन्धुभिर्वृद्धसंयोगः)

(६) स्त्रीवर्ग
(७) भृत्यवर्ग } ——'स्त्रीभृत्यान् प्रेमदानाभ्याम्'

(८) इतरवर्ग—'दाक्षिण्येनेतरं जनम्'

(९) अतिथिवर्ग—'गृहागते परिष्वंगः शक्त्या दानं सहिष्णुता'

१० सर्वसाधारण वर्ग—'अनिन्दा परकृत्येषु स्वधर्मपरिपालनमित्यादि ।'

उपर्युक्त तालिका से अवगत होगा कि लोकसंग्राहक सदाचारों में उन वर्गों की आराधना के लिए अपेक्षित सदाचारों का निरूपण सम्यक् प्रकार से विशद किया गया है ।

हिन्दू संगठन के सम्बन्ध में स्व० महामना पं० मदनमोहन मालवीय का हिन्दूधर्मोपदेश पठनीय है ।

ग्रामे ग्रामे सभा कार्या ग्रामे ग्रामे कथा शुभा ।
पाठशाला मल्लशाला प्रतिपर्वमहोत्सवाः ॥
अनाथा विधवा रक्ष्या मन्दिराणि तथा च गौः ।
धर्म्यं संघटनं कृत्वा देयं दानं च तद्धितम् ॥
स्त्रीणां समादरः कार्यो दुःखितेषु दया तथा ।
अहिंसका न हन्तव्या आततायी वधार्हणः ॥
अभयं सत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यं धृतिः क्षमा ।
सेव्यं सदाऽमृतमिव स्त्रीभिश्च पुरुषैस्तथा ॥
कर्मणां फलमस्तीति विस्मर्तव्यं न जातुचित् ।
स्मर्तव्यः सततं विष्णुः सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थितः ॥
उत्तमः सर्वधर्माणां हिन्दूधर्मोऽयमुच्यते ।
रक्ष्यः प्रचारणीयश्च सर्वभूतहिते रतैः ॥

मालवीय महोदय को अभिमत यह हिन्दू-संगठन भारतीय राजनीतिक सिद्धान्त है, जिसे नीतिसारकार ने उपर्युक्त प्रकार से प्रकट किया है ।

इन उपदेशों का तुलनात्मक दृष्टि से अध्ययन किया जाय तो दोनों समान ही मालुम पड़ते हैं।

१—ग्रामे ग्रामे सभा कार्या	=	इति सङ्घः सतां साधु
२—ग्रामे ग्रामे कथा शुभा	=	वाक् सूनृता
३—पाठशाला	=	,,
४—मल्लशाला	=	दीनोपगतरक्षणम्
५—मन्दिराणि तथा च गौः	=	दीनोपगतरक्षणम्
६—धर्म्यं सङ्घटनं कृत्वा	=	स्वधर्मपरिपालनम्
७—देयं दानं च तद्धितम्	=	दानम्
८—स्त्रीणां समादरः कार्यः	=	स्त्रीभृत्यान् प्रेमदानाभ्याम्
९—दुःखितेषु दया तथा	=	दया
१०—अहिंसका न हन्तव्या आततायी वधार्हणः	=	दीनोपगतरक्षणम्
११—अभयं सत्यमस्तेयं ब्रह्मचर्यं धृतिः क्षमा	=	स्वधर्मपरिपालनम्
१२—स्मर्तव्यः सततं विष्णुः सर्वभूतेष्ववस्थितः	=	पूजयेद्देवताः सदा
१३—हिन्दूधर्मोऽयमुच्यते	=	सनातने वर्त्मनि

उपर्युक्त तुलनात्मक विचार से मालुम होगा कि पं० मालवीयजी द्वारा कहा हुआ हिन्दू धर्मोपदेश नीतिसार तथा अन्य ग्रन्थों में मिलता है। साथ ही उसका सनातन धर्म के नाम से उल्लेख हुआ है।

अतः भगवान् शंकराचार्य जैसे महान् व्यक्ति के द्वारा दिया गया उपर्युक्त उपदेश समयोचित होने से माननीय है। उसका अनुसरण करते रहने से ही हम रोगमुक्त होकर वास्तविक सुख तथा प्रसन्नता के भागी हो सकते हैं।

पण्डितराज के कुछ मौलिक सिद्धान्त

गोपराजु रामा,

प्रयाग

पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ ने अपने "रसगङ्गाधर" के अलङ्कार-प्रकरण में कुछ अलङ्कारशास्त्र के तात्त्विक विषयों पर विशेष रूप से बल दिया जिसकी किसी अन्य आलङ्कारिक द्वारा चर्चा भी नहीं हुई है। वे तात्त्विक विषय हैं—

१. बाधितत्व।

२. कविसंरंभगोचरत्व।

३. कवितात्पर्यविषयीभूतत्व।

४. अलङ्कारसामान्यलक्षणानुस्यूतत्व।

५. अलङ्कारान्वर्थकत्व।

६. सहृदयचमत्कृतिहेतुत्व।

इन तात्त्विक विषयों की झलक किसी प्रकार से अथवा अन्य किसी दृष्टि-कोण से अन्यत्र किसी अलङ्कार-ग्रन्थ में पाई जाती हो लेकिन इसका प्रतिपादन करने का उद्देश्य इतना ही है कि पण्डितराज ने इन तात्त्विक विषयों के बलपर ही कुछ अलङ्कारों को अस्वीकार कर दिया और कुछ अनावश्यक स्थलों पर अल-ङ्कार विषय के व्यापन का अवरोध किया।

क्रमशः इन तात्त्विक विषयों की भूमिका इस प्रकार हैं—

बाधितत्व—अलौकिक अर्थ से विलक्षण और विच्छित्तिविशेष का उत्पादकत्व ही बाधितत्व समझा जाता है। उदाहरण के लिए—लोक में मुख के साथ मुख का सादृश्यवर्णन करने पर किसी तरह की विच्छित्ति सहृदयों को अनुभव नहीं होती है। चन्द्र के साथ मुख का सादृश्य वर्णन करने पर किञ्चित् वैलक्षण्य सहृदयों को प्रतीत होता है। ऐसी स्थिति में ही वह पदार्थ चमत्कारजनक होता है और अलङ्कारपदव्यपदेश्य भी होता है।

अत एव—

पाण्डित्येन प्रचण्डेन येन माद्यन्ति दुर्जनाः ।
तेनैव सज्जना रुढां यान्ति शान्तिमनुत्तमाम् ।।

इत्यादि स्थलों पर व्याघात अलङ्कार नहीं है ।

२. **कविसंरंभगोचरत्व**—अलङ्कारों में कविसंरंभगोचरता की भी आवश्यकता है । इसके न मानने पर सर्वसहृदयानभिमत स्थलों पर यदि किसी भी अलङ्कार का पदकृत्य मात्र से समन्वय हो जाय तो वहाँ पर तदलङ्कार का विषय होकर अतिव्याप्ति हो जाएगी । उदाहरण के लिए—"गङ्गायां घोषः—यहाँ पर "कुसुमानि शराः" में जैसे विरोध अलङ्कार की सङ्गति होती है वैसे "गङ्गायां घोषः" में भी विरोध अलङ्कार की सङ्गति उपस्थित होती है । इसलिए कि विरोध अलङ्कार का लक्षण—एक अनधिकरणत्व से प्रसिद्ध गङ्गा और घोष एक अधिकरण तट में वर्णित किया जाना—घटित होता है । अतः लक्षण की अतिव्याप्ति होती है । इसके वारण करने के लिए कविसंरंभगोचरता रूप युक्ति ली जाती है । "गङ्गायां घोषः" में विरोध के प्रतिपादन करने में कवि का संरंभ नहीं है । अतः विरोध अलङ्कार की अतिप्रसक्ति भी नहीं है ।

३. **कवितात्पर्यविषयीभूतत्व**—पण्डितराज ने अलङ्कारों में कवितात्पर्य-विषयत्व का विशेष बल दिया है । जिस काव्य में दो विभिन्न अलङ्कार समबल होते हैं वहाँ पर "कवितात्पर्यविषय" के बल पर किसी दूसरी की व्यावृत्ति कर दी जाती है । जैसे

ढुंढुं कृत्वा मरिष्यसि कण्टककलितानि केसरमुखानि ।
मालतीकुसुमसदृशं भ्रमर भ्रमन्नपि न प्राप्यसि ।।

इत्यादि ।

यहाँ पर उपमानलुप्ता और असमालङ्कार समबल हैं, लेकिन कवि का तात्पर्य उपमानलुप्ता के प्रतिपादन में ही रहने के कारण असम अलङ्कार की व्यावृत्ति हो जाती है ।

इस तरह ही कवितात्पर्यविषयीभूतत्व का भी ।

४. **अलङ्कारसामान्यलक्षणानुस्यूतत्व**—अलङ्कार विशेषों में अलङ्कार-सामान्य-

लक्षण का अनुस्यूत रहना भी अपेक्षित है। अलङ्कार के प्रभेदों में तदलङ्कार का सामान्यलक्षण अनुस्यूत होकर रहना चाहिए। अन्यथा तदलङ्कार के प्रभेदों में उसकी गणना नहीं की जा सकती हैं। इस कारण से ही विशेष अलङ्कार का अशक्यवस्त्वन्तरकृत तीसरा भेद नहीं है। पर्यस्तापह्नुति नहीं है। प्रतीप अलङ्कार भी नहीं है।

५. समानलक्षणाक्रान्त दो वाक्यार्थोपस्कारक विषयों को पृथगलङ्कार से कहना गौरव है। अपि तु किसी दूसरे में किसी दूसरे को गतार्थ करना उचित है। इस कारण से ही पण्डितराज के मत में प्रस्तुताङ्कुर नामक अन्य अलङ्कार नहीं है। उसे अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा में गतार्थ कर दिया।

५. पण्डितराज के मत में प्रत्येक अलङ्कार अन्वर्थक होता है। जैसे उपमीयत इति उपमा का, नास्ति अन्वयोऽस्य इति अनन्वय का। अन्यथा न उपमात्व रहता है, न अनन्वयत्व। इस कारण से ही—

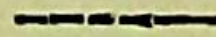
अद्य या मम गोविन्द जाता त्वयि गृहागते।
कालेनैषा भवेत्प्रीतिस्तवैवागमनात्पुनः॥

इत्यादि स्थलों पर अनन्वय अलङ्कार नहीं है।

६. इनके मत में अलङ्कारों में सहृदयचमत्कृतिहेतुत्व सर्वथा अनिवार्य है। इस कारण इन्होंने प्रतीप अलङ्कार को स्वीकार नहीं किया।

सादृश्यमूलक एक अलङ्कार में किसी अन्य सादृश्यमूलक अलङ्कार का वर्णन करना अनुचित है। इसलिए ही—

"स्तनकलशयुगं चुम्बितं चञ्चरीकैः" इत्यादि स्थल पर भ्रान्तिमदलङ्कार नहीं है।



"विरोध्यप्रतीतौ विरोधाप्रतीतिः।"

(न्यायभूषणकारः)

किशोरनाथ झा, इलाहाबाद

विदितमेतन्न्यायदर्शनाध्येतृषु यत् बौद्धदर्शनस्य प्रथिततमः सिद्धान्तः क्षणभङ्गवादः यथा नैयायिकैः प्राचीनादेव कालात् तर्कप्रमाणाभ्यां निराक्रियते तथा बौद्धाचार्या अपि न्यायशास्त्रप्रसिद्धानामात्मादिपदार्थानामुपपत्तये परिगृहीतं वस्तुस्वभावानुरूपं स्थैर्यवादं निरस्यन्तीति। अत एवाधिक्षणभङ्गवादं बौद्ध-नैयायिकयोः सारस्वती प्रतिस्पर्धिता पुरतोऽस्माकं न केवलमैतिहासिकं विवरणं समुद्घाटयति अपि तु शास्त्रार्थस्य सूक्ष्मतमां विचारसरणिमप्यालोकयति।

न्यायवार्त्तिककृदुद्द्योतकरः न्यायसूत्रभाष्ययोः मतखण्डनार्थं प्रस्तुतानां बौद्धानां युक्तिं निरसितुं कृतसंकल्पः स्वप्रतिभोद्भाविताभिः युक्तिभिः न्यायसिद्धान्तं स्थैर्यवादं दृढमूलमथ च बौद्धमतं क्षणभङ्गवादं वैशद्येन शिथिलमूलमकरोदिति तत एव बौद्ध नैयायिकयोः प्ररूढमूलः कलहः पल्लवतामेति। अत एव योगाचारसंप्रदायसंपोषकः धर्मकीर्तिराचार्यः उद्द्योतकरं प्रतिपक्षिषु मुख्यं मन्यमानस्तस्य मतानि विस्तरशः निरा-करोति स्वमतानि च प्रमाणनिकषोपलेऽनुभवतुलायां वा परीक्ष्य प्रतिवादिनां समक्षं समुद्भासयति।

पुनश्च कश्मीराभिजनः न्यायभूषणकारः भासर्वज्ञाचार्यस्तत्समसामयिकः लुप्तपरिचयः न्यायाचार्यः शङ्करः शिष्येण वाचस्पतिमिश्रवर्येण सह त्रिलोचनाचार्यश्च नैयायिकप्रमुखाः प्रतिवादिनां मुखानि पिधातुं बद्धपरिकराः समदृश्यन्त। धर्मकीर्ति-मतसंरक्षकः ज्ञानश्रीमित्राचार्यस्तु क्षणभङ्गाध्यायोपसंहारे प्रबलप्रतिपक्षितयैतान् संस्मृत्य नामग्राहमेतेषामभिप्रायं समुद्धरति निपुणं निराकरोति च।

तत्र प्रत्यभिज्ञया पदार्थस्थैर्यं साधयतः नैयायिकस्य खण्डनार्थं धर्मकीर्तिः कथयति—

'अर्थक्रियासमर्थं यत् तदत्र परमार्थसत्।
असन्तोऽक्षणिकास्तेषां क्रमाक्रमविरोधतः' ॥ इति

[प्र० वा० २।३।]

यत् सत्=अर्थक्रियासमर्थं तत् क्षणिकं तदेव च परमार्थसत्=यथार्थं वस्तु विद्यते। एतद्भिन्नं सर्वमवस्तु कल्पनाप्रसूतं भवति। तथाहि पदार्थस्य स्वभावो यद्यक्षणिकत्वं स्यात् कार्यं कादाचित्कं न स्यात्। यतो हि स्थिरस्य भावस्य सर्वदा विद्यमानतया सततमसौ कार्यमुत्पादयेत्। एवं च यथा कुशूले स्थितं बीजं नाङ्कुरं जनयति तथा क्षेत्रपतितमपि तन्नाङ्कुरं जनयेत्। बीजाविशेषेणोभयत्रापि एकस्यैव स्वभावस्यानुवर्तनात्। अथवा क्षेत्रपतितबीजादङ्कुरजनकस्वभावत्वमेव निश्चित्य कुशूलस्थमपि तत् जनयेदङ्कुरमित्यापत्तिः समापतति। न चैतदिष्टम्, एवं सति इष्टस्य क्रमशः कार्यजननस्य हानिरनिष्टस्य यौगपद्येन कार्यजननस्य प्राप्तिश्चापद्येते।

इहाधुना मतमिदं निराकरिष्णुः शास्त्रार्थस्याधिरणभूमिमुपस्थितः भासर्वज्ञाचार्यः विकल्पजालैराच्छाद्य प्रतिवादिमुखं ग्लापयति। तथा हि अक्षणिकाः असन्तः अर्थादर्थक्रियाकारित्वाभाववन्तः क्रमाक्रमविरोधात्। अथवा यदक्षणिकं तदर्थक्रियाकारि न भवति यथा शशविषाणमित्यादौ प्रतिवाद्यनुमाने आश्रयासिद्धिरापतति। तथा च कस्तावदिह पक्षः? यद्यक्षणिको भावस्तर्हि तस्यासत्त्वसाधनं न युज्यते। नहि असति धर्मिणि हेतोः पक्षधर्मत्वं, न चासति पक्षधर्मत्वे हेतोः गमकत्वं वा संभवति। यदि चानुमानोपपत्तयेऽभ्युपगम्यते, सिद्धमस्तित्वमक्षणिकभावस्येति सर्वं क्षणिकमिति प्रतिज्ञा व्याहन्यते। यदि चैतदनुमानं नोररीक्रियते स्वप्रतिज्ञाभङ्गभिया तर्हि निर्हेतुकोऽक्षणिकभावनिषेधः न संभवत्येव।

इहोत्तरयति बौद्धाचार्यः—यत्र यत्राक्षणिकाद् व्यावृत्तं सत्त्वं तत्र तत्र क्षणिकत्वमित्यन्वयः, यत्र यत्र क्षणिकत्वाभावस्तत्र तत्राक्षणिकव्यावृत्तसत्त्वाभाव इति व्यतिरेकस्तौ च पक्षे पक्षैकदेशे वा प्रसिद्ध्यतः। अवच्छेदकावच्छेदेन साध्यानुमाने पक्षैकदेशस्य दृष्टान्ततया नैयायिकैरपि परिगृहीतत्वात्। एवं च नोक्तापत्तिः। यत् सत् तत् क्षणिकमित्येवानुमानस्वरूपं परमार्थतः क्षणिकत्वं भावस्य साधयेत्।

पुनरत्र भासर्वज्ञः पृच्छति-यावदक्षणिकं वस्तु न प्रसिद्ध्यति तावत् क्षणिकत्वस्य तद्व्यावृत्तत्वं न संभवति। यतो हि क्षणिकत्वाक्षणिकत्वे परस्परं विरुद्धौ धर्मौ, तौ च विरोधिनोरभावे नास्तित्वं लभेते। यथा दहनतुहिनयोः विरोधिनोः प्रतीत्यनन्तरमेव तयोः विरोधः प्रतीतिपदवीमधिरोहति। एवं च क्षणिकत्वस्य विरोधितया अक्षणिकत्वमस्तित्वं लभते। अक्षणिकाद् व्यावृत्तं सत्त्वमर्थक्रियाकारित्वलक्षणमित्युक्तौ अक्षणिकभावः प्रसिद्ध्यति। तत्प्रसिद्ध्या च क्षणभङ्गवादस्य भङ्गः सुनिश्चित एव।

यदि च बौद्धनये विज्ञानस्य द्वैविध्यमालयप्रवृत्तिविज्ञानयोः भेदात्। तत्र

प्रथमस्य पारमार्थिकत्वमपरस्य च संवृतिसिद्धत्वम् । व्यवहाराय हि द्वितीयमेव प्रवृत्तिविज्ञानं कल्पते । संवृतिसिद्धिरूपाक्षणिकविज्ञानेन क्षणिकत्वस्य विरोध उपपद्यते । अधुनैवंरीत्या विरोधिद्वयप्रसिद्धचा पूर्वोक्तान्वयव्यतिरेकयोः प्रसिद्धिस्तया चानुमानस्य प्रसङ्गसंगतस्य युक्तता जायते ।

पुनरत्र भूषणकारः विकल्पयति–संवृतिसिद्धं वस्तु यथार्थं काल्पनिकं वा भवति ? यदि वास्तवं कथं तस्यासत्त्वं कथं वार्थक्रियाकारित्वहानिस्तत्र ? वास्तवं वस्तु निष्पादयेदेवार्थक्रियाम् ।

अथ काल्पनिकं तत् पुनरिह विकल्पद्वयम् । तद्विरोधः किं यथार्थः काल्पनिको वा ? नाद्यः कल्पः कल्पितविरोधिना यथार्थविरोधस्यानुभवविरुद्धतया अग्राह्यत्वात् । न हि दृष्टचरो भवति कस्यापि बन्ध्यापुत्रेण सह वास्तविकः कलहः । अथान्त्यः कल्पः न तर्हि अक्षणिकस्य परमार्थतोऽर्थक्रियाकारित्वहानिः न वा अक्षणिकात् सत्त्वस्य व्यतिरेकसिद्धिरपि भवति वास्तविकी । तस्मात् यत् सत् तत् क्षणिकमिति बौद्धसिद्धान्तः न सिद्धिमेति ।

इह भासर्वज्ञस्योक्तौ प्राचीननैयायिकस्य शङ्करस्य त्रिलोचनस्य चानुमतिः दृश्यते । तथाहि—

यदाह शङ्करः—"विरोधसिद्धिमनुसरता विरोध्यपि प्रतिपत्तव्यः, तत्प्रतिपत्ति-नान्तरीयकत्वात् विरोधसिद्धेः, यथा दहनतुहिनयोः सापेक्षध्रुवभावयोश्च" । इति

[ज्ञा० नि० पृ० ८७]

तथा च न्यायभूषणः—"विरोध्यप्रतीतौ विरोधस्य प्रत्येतुमशक्यत्वात् नहि दहनतुहिनयोरन्यतराप्रतीतौ विरोधप्रतीतिरस्ति । क्रमाक्रमविरोधादक्षणिकं यदि प्रतीयते ततः कथमसत् ? प्रतीतिरूपार्थक्रियाकारित्वात्" इति

[ज्ञा० नि० पृ० ८७]

"त्रिलोचनोऽपि.............. क्रमयौगपद्यरहितत्वं बाधकं किमक्षणिकानामसत्तां साधयति आहोस्वित् व्यतिरेकमर्थप्रतिबन्धम् । न तावत् पूर्वो विकल्पः, आकाशकाल-दिगात्ममनसां परमाणूनां च रूपासिद्धौ हेतोराश्रयासिद्धेरसिद्धत्वात्" । इति

[ज्ञा नि० पृ० ८८]

एतैश्च सन्दर्भत्रयैः न केवलं क्षणिकत्वस्य निरासोऽपि तु शक्तिशक्तिमतो राधाराधेययोः गुणगुणिनोश्च धर्मकीर्त्यभिमतोऽभेदः निराक्रियते । तथा हि—

"मदादिशक्तेरिव चेद् विनिर्भागो न वस्तुनः।
शक्तिरर्थान्तरं वस्तु नश्येन्नाश्रितमाश्रये ।।

[प्र० वा० १।१६२]

अनाश्रयात् सदसतोः नाश्रयः स्थितिकारणम् ।
सतश्चेदाश्रयो नास्याः स्थातुरव्यतिरेकतः ।।

[प्र० वा० १।६५]

तदुपादाय शब्दश्च हेत्वर्थः स्वाश्रयेण च ।
अविनिर्भागवर्तित्वात् रूपादेराश्रयोऽपि वा ।।

[प्र० वा० १।१६०]

इत्यादिभिः कारिकाभिः नैयायिकाभिमतान् शक्तिशक्तिमतोः, आधाराधेययोः गुणगुणिनोश्च भेदान् निरस्यति धर्मकीर्तिः। ऊर्ध्वनिर्दिष्टाश्च नैयायिकसन्दर्भाः धर्मकीर्तिमतजातमपाकुर्वन्ति। तथा हि दहनतुहिनयोः विरोधिनोः सत्ता शक्तिमन्तमाधारं गुणिनं च स्थापयति स्वतः दाहकता शैत्यं च यथायथं शक्तिराधेयः गुणश्च ततः पृथक् सिद्धिमेति । यतो हि विरोधी विरोधश्च भिन्नत्वेन प्रमाणतर्काभ्यामुपपादितः धर्मकीर्तिना निरसितस्य पुनः प्रतिष्ठापनेन विमलीकृतः न्यायसिद्धान्त एभिर्न्याय-मर्मज्ञैः।

ज्ञानश्रीमित्राचार्यः कथयति–विधिनिषेधव्यवहारः यथार्थस्यैव वस्तुनो भवतीति नियमो नास्ति किन्तु अलीकस्यापि पदार्थस्य निषेधः प्रामाणिकैरभ्युपगतः। अत एव शशशृङ्गं नास्ति इति प्रयोगः शास्त्रेषु वृद्धव्यवहारेषु च श्रुतिपथातिथ्यं भजमानः प्रसिद्ध्यति। एवं संवृतसिद्धोऽक्षणिकभावः यथार्थतः क्षणिकेन पदार्थेन सह विरुणद्धि। नैतावतार्थक्रियाकारित्वमक्षणिकभावे प्रसिद्धयति नवाऽसौ यथार्थमस्तित्वं लभते येन क्षणभङ्गवादस्य व्याहतिः स्यात् । एवं च नैयायिकैः प्रदर्शितः आश्रयासिद्धिदोषः अक्षणिकपदार्थस्यास्तित्वं वा न प्रसिद्धयति। कल्पितविरोधिना साकमपि क्षणिकत्वविरोधस्योपपादयितुं शक्यतया विरोध्यप्रतीतौ विरोधाप्रतीतेरिति नैयायिकानामुक्तिः न किञ्चित्करी भवति । तया क्षणिकत्वसिद्धान्तस्य न जायते व्याघातः। अस्या एव कथायाः पल्लवने ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः धर्मकीर्तिनाऽभिहितं प्रतिपादयति समुपोद्वलकतया। तथा हि वन्ध्यासुतो वक्ता नवेति प्रस्तावे निषेध-प्रतिज्ञा न संभवति, आश्रयासिद्धेः। न च विधिप्रतिज्ञा, अवस्तुतया प्रथिते मतान्तरे अलीके वन्ध्यासुते वक्तृतायाः असंभवता सर्वजनानुभवसिद्धाऽपलपितुमशक्या। न च

विधिनिषेधाभ्यामन्यः कश्चित् शब्दव्यापारः संभवति । तस्मात् वस्तुनीवावस्तुन्यपि कस्यचिद्धर्मस्य विधिनिषेधव्यवहारः दुर्वार एव । अत्र जिज्ञासते तावत् ज्ञानश्रीमित्राचार्यः—वन्ध्यासुतादिषु धर्मित्वं वर्तते न वा ? यदि निषेधकोटिः, कथं व्यवहारः ? यदि विधिकोटिः, कथं न वस्तुजनकत्वम् ? तस्मात्

यत्रोभयोः समो दोषः परिहारोऽपि तत्समः ।
नैकः पर्यनुयोक्तव्यस्तादृगर्थविचारणे ॥ (श्लो० वा०)

इति रीत्या उभाभ्यामपि सहनीय एष विकल्पासहत्वापराधः ।

यतो हि आचार्येण धर्मकीर्तिना प्रतिपादितम्—

"अनादिवासनोद्भूतविकल्पपरिनिष्ठितः ।
शब्दार्थस्त्रिविधो धर्मी भावाभावोभयाश्रयः ॥इति ।

[प्र० वा० ३।२०५]

अयमभिसन्धिः, शब्दार्थस्त्रिविधो भवति । कश्चित् भावाश्रयः यथार्थवस्तुनियतो यथा नीलत्वादिः, कश्चिदभावाश्रयः अलीकवस्तुनियतः सर्वोपाख्याविरहादि; कश्चिदुभयाश्रयःअनुपलंभमात्रम् । तस्य वस्तुधर्मिणा वस्तुधर्मित्वनिषेधः युक्त एवास्माभिर्बौद्धैरप्युरीक्रियते न तु धर्ममात्राणां तत्र निषेधः संभवति । भवतामेवोर्ध्वनिर्दिष्टरीत्या स्ववचनविरोधस्य बाधकत्वम् । पुनरत्रापि वस्तुनः स्वसामर्थ्यभाविनी प्रतीतिर्भवति अवस्तुनः संदिग्धवस्तुनस्तु विकल्पमात्रं प्रतीतिः व्यवहारायोपयुज्यते ! एवं च यथा वस्तुनः क्षणिकस्य प्रत्यक्षानुमानाभ्यां स्वरूपावधारणं तथा अवस्तुनः संदिग्धवस्तुभावस्य च विकल्पोपस्थापितमेव स्वरूपमभ्युपगन्तव्यम् ।

जागतिकं सकलं वस्तु चतुर्षु विकल्पेषु अन्तर्भवति । कश्चिदनुभवपृष्ठभावी यथा नीलादिविकल्पः, कश्चिदसदर्थः यथा शशविषाणादिः कश्चित् सन्दिग्धविषयः यथा पिशाचादिविकल्पः कश्चिल्लिङ्गजः । तत्र प्रथमः प्रत्यक्षपरिपुष्टः सद् गमयति लिङ्गजोऽप्यन्त्यः यथाध्यवसेयमर्थं प्रापयतीति प्रमाणम् । किन्तु असदर्थः संदिग्धविषयकश्च विकल्पः अवस्तुनिर्भासाद् प्रत्यक्ष इव दृश्यमानः प्रत्यक्षाभपदवाच्यतां याति । न तौ सद्गमयतः किन्तु विकल्पनं केवलं तयोः व्यवहारार्थं जायते । एतादृशासदर्थ एवाक्षणिकविकल्प इति विकल्पजालैः क्षणिकत्वाच्छादनं न संगच्छते नैयायिकानाम् । न केवलं स्वशास्त्राचार्याणां पूर्वजानामुक्त्या स्वमतं द्रढयति ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः अपितु अनुभवमपि अनुकूलयन् कथयति अवस्तुनि विधिनिषेधव्यवहारो नास्तीति यदि नैयायिकेनोच्यते तदा नास्तिपदार्थाधिकरणतया अवस्तुन्येव निषेधव्यवहारोऽङ्गीकृतः ।

अपि च गगनकुशेशये क्रमाक्रमौ न भवतः, अत एव तत्रार्थक्रियाकारित्वं नास्तीति बौद्धानां मतम् । अत्र गगनारविन्दस्यालीकस्य यथार्थवस्तुविरोधिता जायते। एवं च काल्पनिकविरोधिनापि यथार्थवस्तुनो यथार्थविरोध. संभवति।

नैयायिकोऽत्र यदि विधिकोटिमभ्युपगच्छेत् बौद्धसिद्धान्ते तत्कृतं दोषापादनं निष्फलं स्यात् । यदि निषेधकोटिमभ्युपगच्छेत् तन्न संभवत्येव । यतो हि गगनारविन्दे अर्थक्रियाकारित्वाभाव उभयवाद्यनुमतः ।

अत एव धर्मकीर्तिः कथयति—

निवृत्त्यभावस्तु विधिर्वस्तु भावोऽसतोऽपि सन् ।
तदभावस्तु नास्तीति पश्य धाष्ट्यं विजृम्भितम् ।।
[प्र० वा० ४।२२३]

निवृत्तेरक्षणिकताया अभावः विधिर्वस्तुभावः क्षणिकत्वम् । असतः अलीकस्यार्थक्रियाविरहिणः सत्ताऽस्तित्वेनप्रतीतिः प्रतिपद्यते इत्युभयं स्वीकृत्यापि नैयायिकः तदभावस्तु अक्षणिकत्वाभावः क्षणिकत्वमर्थक्रियाकारित्वं च पदार्थस्य नास्तीति ब्रुवन् आत्मधार्ष्ट्यं प्रकाशयति इति ।

अपि च असता=अर्थक्रियाविरहिणा सह सतः अर्थक्रियाकारिपदार्थस्य मा भवतु विरोधः । तुष्यतु दुर्जनन्यायेनाभ्युपगम्यते कस्मैचित् कालाय भवतामेव नैयायिकानां मतं बौद्धैस्तथाप्यर्थादभ्युपगमवादेऽपि निर्दुष्टो न भवति भवदभिप्राय. ।

तथा हि भवन्तमिह पृच्छामि—सता सह'सतो विरोधः स्वीक्रियते न वा ? यदि विधिकोटिः, बौद्धसिद्धान्तोऽभ्युपगतः भवताऽपि । अवस्तुनोऽक्षणिकस्य कस्यचित् पदार्थस्याभावे सता सहैव सतो विरोध अस्माकमभिमतः भवताऽपि स्वीकृतः । यदि निषेधकोटिः पुनरवस्तुन्यलीके विरोधोऽभ्युपगतः, तावताऽपि बौद्धसिद्धान्तस्य सिद्धिरेव यतो हि संवृतिसिद्धेन काल्पनिकविरोधिना यथार्थविरोधः संभवतीति तदभिमत एवानुमतः भवतापि ।

अमुमेवाभिप्रायं प्रकटयति धर्मकीर्तिराचार्यः—

"नासिद्धे भावधर्मोऽस्ति व्यभिचार्युभयाश्रयः ।
धर्मो विरुद्धोऽभावस्य सा सत्ता साध्यते कथम् ।। इति ।
[प्र० वा० ३।१९१]

असिद्धे साधनात् प्राक् भावे भावधर्मो नास्तीत्यसिद्धोऽसौ । उभयाश्रयो भावाभावधर्मश्च व्यभिचारी=अनैकान्तिकः । नह्युभयधर्म एकान्तेनैकसत्तां गमयति अभावस्य तु धर्मः विरुद्धः असत्त्वसाधनात् । एवं च त्रिविधदोषदुष्टत्वात् साधनस्य सा सत्ता कथं साध्यते ? ।

नैतावतयैवोक्त्या सन्तुष्टः ज्ञानश्रीमित्रः नैयायिकं पुनः ह्लेपयति—अक्षिणी निमील्य चिन्तय तावत् किं शशविषाणं क्रमादियोगि भवति न वा ? यदि विधिकोटिस्तर्हि नैतद् युक्तम् । अलीके अर्थक्रियाकारित्वाभावस्य सर्वजनसिद्धानुभवस्यापलापासंभवात् । यदि निषेधकोटिस्तर्हि क्रमादिरहितं तदलीकं कथं निषेधस्याश्रयो भवितुमर्हेत् ?

तस्मात् क्षणिकत्वं सिद्धं यथार्थस्यार्थक्रियाकारिणः पदार्थस्य विरोध्यप्रतीतौ विरोधाप्रतीत्या न क्षणभङ्गस्य व्याहतिः न वा धर्मकीर्तेरुक्तिः युक्तिविरहितेति विस्तरेण प्रतिपादितं ज्ञानश्रीमित्राचार्येण। †

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† This paper was communicated to the SEMINAR ON BUDDHISM conducted by Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi in March 1973.

धारणपोषणार्थक धाः (डुधाञ्) : अर्थविज्ञानम्

भागीरथप्रसाद त्रिपाठी 'वागीशः शास्त्री'

वाराणसी

√धा (डुधाञ्) ३/१० धारणपोषणयोः (उ०)। क्षीरस्वामी तु—'दाने धारणे च' इत्याह। वोपदेवोऽपि 'धारणे पुष्टौ दाने' चेति वदन् दानार्थमधिकमाह। क्रियारत्नसमुच्चये 'डुधांगृक् धारणे दाने' इति पाठः। धारणस्य खल्वनेके भेदा आधानवहनस्थापनादिप्रकारेण। इह निरुपसर्गस्य तस्य धारणपोषणार्थकस्य धा धातोरर्था विविच्यन्ते।

१ (ऋ. १,८१,३) 'यदुदीरत आजयो धृष्णवो धीयते धना दधोऽस्मै इन्द्र वसौ दधः' इत्यत्र धनप्रसङ्गेन निधानमर्थः। 'यः सूरिषु बृहद्दधे स्वर्ण हर्यतः' (९,९८,८) इत्यत्र तु श्रवसः = अन्नस्य कर्मत्वाद् विधानमर्थः, स्थापनं तु तात्पर्यतः। 'त्वा सह पत्या दधामि' इति (१०,८५,२४) ऋग्वेदे त्वां पुत्राद्यर्थं पत्या सह दधामि = स्थापयामीत्यर्थः। 'कान्तमूर्ध्नि दधती पिधित्सया' इति (नैष० १२,८६) स्पष्टं कान्तमूर्ध्नि श्रवणपूरस्योत्पलस्य स्थापनमर्थः।

अधाय्यग्निर्मानुषीषु विक्ष्वपां गर्भो मित्र ऋतेन साधन्' इति (३,५,३) ऋग्वेदेऽपां गर्भस्याग्नेः कर्मत्वादाधानमर्थः। एवमेव 'युवं ह गर्भं जगतीषु धत्तः' (ऋ० १, १५७,५) इत्यत्र जगत्यधिकरणकं गर्भकर्मकमाधानम्। आधानस्य च निक्षेपणं समर्पणं वार्थः (द्र० गीता० ५,१० शाङ्करभाष्यम्)। 'तस्मिन् गर्भं दधाम्यहम्' इति (गीता० १४, ३) 'निक्षिपामि' इति शाङ्करभाष्यम्। उभयत्र गर्भधारणे समानेऽपि विद्यत ईषदर्थभेदः। स्त्रीद्वारकगर्भस्य धारणं नामाऽऽधानम्। पुरुषैश्च तत्र गर्भधारणं नाम निक्षेपणम्। 'अधित कापि मुखे सलिलं सखी' इति (४,१११) नैषधीये काव्ये धाधातुर्निक्षेपणोत्तरमाधानार्थकः, मुखाधिकरणस्य स्थापनस्याऽऽधानार्थकत्वात्। अत एव 'आहितवती' इति जीवातुकारः। हिन्दीभाषायाम् 'आधान' इति शब्दो गर्भाधानपरक एव।

२. 'येन तोकं तनयं च धामहे' (ऋ. १,९२,१३) पोषणार्थको धाधातुः, इतः पूर्वं धनस्य याचमानत्वात्। 'हे वाजिनीवति ! उषोदेवते ! अस्मभ्यं चित्रम् = चाय-

नीयं तद् धनम् आभर = आहर, प्रयच्छ, येन धनेन तोकं पुत्रं तनयम् = तत्पुत्रं च दध्महे' इत्युक्ताया ऋचोऽर्थः । 'विद्यात् कविः सुकृतं मे दधाति' इति महाभारते (५,३६,६) सुकृतं पुष्णातीत्यर्थः । 'धत्ते धारयते चेदमेतस्मात् कारणाद् धनम्' इति म० भार० (५,११४,२) धत्ते = पुष्णाति, धारयते = जीवयतीत्यर्थः । एवमेव १२,२३२,४२; १२,३४०,१०० इत्यादौ पोषणरूपोऽर्थोऽनुसन्धेयो धाधातोः । (रघु० १,२६) 'दधतुर्भुवनद्वयम्' इत्यत्र 'पुपुषतुः' इति मल्लिनाथः ।

३. ऋग्वेदे धाधातोर्दानमर्थः खल्वनेकत्र दृश्यते । 'त्वं हि रत्नधा असि, (ऋ. १,१५,३) रत्नधा = रत्नानां दातेत्यर्थः । एवमेव 'पात रत्नधा इन्द्रवन्तः' (ऋ. ४,३४,६), 'हिरण्याक्षः सविता देव आगाद् दधद्रत्ना दाशुषे वार्याणि' (ऋ.१,३५,८) इत्यत्र 'हिरण्याक्षः = हितरमणीयचक्षुर्युक्तो हिरण्मयाक्षो वा सविता देवः आगात् = इहागच्छतु । किं कुर्वन् ? दाशुषे = हविर्दत्तवते यजमानाय वार्याणि = वरणीयानि रत्नानि दधत् = प्रयच्छन्' इत्यर्थः । दाशुषे हविर्दत्तवते यजमानायेति चतुर्थी धाधातोर्दानार्थमिङ्गति, हविर्दाता धनकामो ददाति हविरिति प्रसङ्गेनापि सोऽर्थः । 'वयो दधत्पद्वते रेरिहत्सदानु श्येनी सचते वर्तनीरह' (ऋ. १,१४०,६) = पद्वते = पादवते, द्विपदे चतुष्पदे च वयः = अन्नं तत्तदुचितं दधत् = ददिदित्यर्थः । निरुक्तेऽपि (७,१५) 'रत्नधातमम् = रमणीयानां धनानां दातृतमम्' इत्यर्थः ।

क्षीरस्वामिवोपदेवावर्थमिमं नारोपितं मेनाते इति पेठतुर्धातुपाठे । अन्ये तु वैयाकरणा न पेठुर्दानार्थं धाधातोरिति तेषां मतेन धातोरारोपितोऽर्थो ज्ञायते । सायणोऽप्यनेकत्र विकल्पं दर्शयति, क्वचिच्च धारणार्थमेव व्याख्याति-(ऋ. १,१८८,२) 'दधत्सहस्रिणीरिषः' = सहस्रिणीः = एतत्संख्याकान्, इषः = अन्नानि, दधत् = यजमानेभ्यो धारयन्' इति सत्यामपि चतुर्थीविभक्तौ स दानमर्थं न करोति । एवमेव 'अग्निश्चिद्धि ष्मातसे शुशुक्वानापो न द्वीपं दधति प्रयांसि' (ऋ.१,१६६,३) इत्यत्र 'अग्निः, प्रयांसि = चरुपुरोडाशादिहवींषि, दधति = धारयन्ति ददति वा यजमानाः इति दर्शितवान् विकल्पम् । 'प्राता रत्नं प्रातरित्वा दधाति' (ऋ. १,१२५,१) इत्यत्र 'रत्नम् = रमणीयं निष्कादिकम्, प्रातः = प्रभातकाले, दधाति = अस्मत्संनिधौ स्थापयति, ददाति' इति दर्शितवान् आरोपस्य क्रममपि । संनिधौ स्थापनेन स्वस्वत्वनिवृत्तिपूर्वकत्वाद् दानार्थको जातो धाधातुः । (ऋ. १, १२५, २) इत्यत्रापि सः 'दधाति = दधातु, ददातु' इत्यर्थमाह । ऋग्वेदे धाधातोर्दानार्थ एषु स्थानेष्वन्वेष्टव्यः — १, ६४, १४; १,२०,७; १,६४,१४; १,४७,१; १,६३,२; १,१५६,५; २,२६,३; ३,२६,३ इति । प्रायशो द्रव्यसंनिधानेन तादृशोऽर्थो भवति धाधातोः ।

(ऋ. ३.२६.३) 'स्वश्व्यं दधातु रत्नममृतेषु जागृविः' इत्यत्र सायणः—'स्वश्व्यम् = शोभनाश्वादिपशुयुक्तम्' रत्नम्=धनम्, नः=अस्माकम्, दधातु= विदधातु, प्रयच्छतु' इति विपूर्वकस्य धाधातोरर्थं कुर्वाणस्तात्पर्यार्थं दानमाह, षष्ठी-सांनिध्यात् । वस्तुतस्तु धाधातोर्दानमर्थं आरोपितः, 'धूनुथ द्यां पर्वतान् दाशुषे' (ऋ. ५,५७,३) इत्यत्र धूधातोरपि दानमर्थो भवति 'दाशुषे'इति पदसांनिध्यात् । आख्यातचन्द्रिकायां तु दानार्थःपठितः—'दधात्यपि च दाशति'(२,२,५८), 'तयोर्दधाति दाने च' (३,३,११२) इति ।

४. विपूर्वको धाधातुः कृधातुपर्यायवाचको दृश्यते । व्युपसर्गाद्दतेऽपि स करणार्थे प्रयुज्यते । (ऋ. १,६६,७) 'सेनेव सृष्टामं दधाति' इत्यत्र 'अयमग्निः, अमम्=शत्रूणां भयं, दधाति = विदधाति करोति' इत्यर्थः । कृधातुरुत्पादनार्थ इति भयं जनयतीत्यर्थो भवति तात्पर्यतः । 'स्वस्ति नस्तार्क्ष्यो अरिष्टनेमिः स्वस्ति नो बृहस्पतिर्दधातु' इति (१,८९,६) ऋग्वेदे दधातु = विदधातु करोत्वित्यर्थः । एवमेव 'अथा धत्तं यजमानाय शं योः' (ऋ० १,९३,७) इत्यत्र, 'अधात्पीतिं सं मदा अग्मता वः' ऋ. (४,३४,१) इत्यत्र च करणमर्थः । 'गमनाय मतिं दधुः' इति (१,१०,१८, वा० रा०) निश्चयं चक्रुरित्यर्थः । 'अयं मे धास्यति श्रेयः' इति (१२,२७१,७) महाभारते 'विधास्यति' इत्यर्थः । 'दधुः कुमारानुगमे मनांसि' भट्टिः (३,११) 'कृतवन्तः' इति जय० । 'चन्द्राभमाभ्रं तिलकं दधाना, नैष० (६,६२) = कुर्वाणेति प्रकाशकारः । इह रचनायां तात्पर्यम् । अवेस्ताभाषायां रचनार्थे लभ्यतेऽयं धातुः—'हुदातो' (<सुधितः) अवे० यस्न ९,१६ = उत्तमरचनायुतः । भय-स्वस्ति-शम्-पीति-निश्चयश्रेयःप्रभृतीनां कर्मणां धारणरूपेणार्थेनाचारिताथ्यात् क्रियासामान्यवाचकेन कृधातुना निस्तारः । 'नारायणो दधे निद्रां बाह्यं वर्षसहस्रकम्' इति हरिवंश० (१,८,३२) निद्रापदसांनिध्यात् करणमर्थः, करणस्य च स्वापे तात्पर्यम् ।

५. 'धर्मे दध्यात् सदा मनः' मनु० (१२,२३) संगतिकरणं संयोजनं वार्थो धाधातोः ।

६. यद्यपि 'सपत्नीशः शङ्करः सारधाता' हरिवंश० (२,७२,४४), 'अमर-पुरमतिं सुराङ्गनानां दधतम्' भट्टि० (१०,५०) इत्यत्र च सारस्य बोधस्य कर्ता = जनयितेति, सुराङ्गनानाममरपुरमतिं दधतम् = कुर्वन्तम् = जनयन्तम् इति तात्पर्या-र्थात् कृधातुना निर्वाहः, तथापि—

शशबिन्दोर्दुहितरि बिन्दुमत्यामधान्नृपः ।
पुरुकुत्समम्बरीषं मुचुकुन्दं च योगिनम् ॥

इति भाग० पु० (६,६,३८) धाधातोः स्पष्टं जननमर्थः । वस्तुतस्तु व्युपसर्ग-पूर्वकस्य धाधातोः प्रपञ्चः कृधातोरेव वेदितव्यः । अवेस्ताभाषायामुत्पत्तिरूपोऽर्थः—'अर्श-दातो' (∠ ऋत-धितः)-यस्न ६,१६ = ऋतादुत्पन्न इत्यर्थः ।

७. 'समीक्ष्य सुकृतिनां दधाति लोकान्' इति (१२,३२१,२८) महाभारते धाधातुः प्राप्त्यर्थकः । लोकान् दधाति = प्राप्नोतीत्यर्थः । अस्यार्थस्य मूलं शतपथ-ब्राह्मणे लभ्यते—'यदा योषा रेतो धत्तेऽथ पयो धत्ते' (७,११,४४) इति ।

८. 'विषधराभविसाभरणा दधे रतिपतिं प्रति शम्भुविभीषिकाम्' इति (नैषध० ४,२७) सा भैमी रतिपतिं कामं प्रति शम्भुसंबन्धिनीं विभीषिकाम् = भयानकतां दधे = अङ्गीकृतवतीत्यर्थः, धारणार्थस्येहानौचित्यात् । एवमेव 'जनुरधत्त सती स्मरतापिता' इति (नैषध० ४,४५) सती = दाक्षायणी स्मरतापिता सती हिमवतः सकाशाज्जनुः = जन्म, अधत्त = अङ्गीचकारेत्यर्थः, सामर्थ्यात् ।

९. ऋतुसंहारे (६,१३)—

गुरूणि वासांसि विहाय तूर्णं तनूनि लाक्षारसरञ्जितानि ।
सुगन्धिकालागुरुधूपितानि धत्ते जना काममदालसाङ्गः ।।

इत्यत्र धाधातुः परिधानार्थकः, वाससां संनिधानात् परिपूर्वकस्य धातोरर्थं व्यक्तीकरोति । 'दधतो मङ्गलक्षौमे' (रघु० १२,८) 'वर्म चान्ये दधुर्द्रुतम् (भट्टि० १७.५४) इत्यत्र च परिधानार्थः ।

१०. (म०भार० ५,३२,११०) 'जानाति विश्वासयितुं मनुष्यान् विज्ञातदोषेषु दधाति दण्डम्' इत्यत्र दण्डपदसांनिध्याद् धाधातोः प्रयोगरूपोऽर्थः दण्डस्य प्रयोगेणैवौचित्यात् ।

११. 'जहीहि शोकं वैदेहि प्रीतये धेहि मानसम्' इति (भट्टि० २०,१०) प्रीतये = प्रीत्यर्थं पुनर्मानसं धेहि = घटयेत्यर्थः, रावणविषयकद्वेषत्यागपूर्वकस्य प्रीत्यर्थं मानसधानस्यार्थो नाम चेष्टैव ।

१२. 'नामोक्ष्याम वयं शङ्कामिहाधास्यन्न चेद् भवान्' इति (भट्टि० २१,१४) यदि भवान् सीतां वह्नौ नाधास्यत् = न रोपितवान्, तदा वयं किं शुद्धा नेति शङ्कां नामोक्ष्यामेत्यर्थः । अग्निसांनिध्यादिह धाधातू रोहणार्थकः । इहान्तर्भावितो ण्यर्थः ।

१३. 'बुद्धौ न दध्मः खलु शेषबुद्धी' इति (नैषध० ३,३६) स्मरणरूपोऽर्थो धाधातुर्बुद्धिपदसंनिधानात् । बुद्धिपदमिह चित्तवाचकमिति चित्ते न दध्मः । मनसापि न स्मराम इत्यर्थः संपद्यते ।

१४. क्तप्रत्ययान्तो हितशब्दे धाधातुरानुकूल्यार्थकः। 'या रोगिणी स्यात् तु कथं हिता' इति (मनु० ६,८२) हिता=अनुकूलेत्यर्थः। महाभारते (१२,१४३,१३) 'आत्मानं योऽभिसंधत्ते सोऽन्यस्य स्यात् कथं हितः' इत्यत्र हितशब्दः सुहृद्वाचकः। इह कल्याणमभिप्रेयते। तच्च धारणपोषणाभ्यां समर्थितम्। 'अनुक्त्वैव हितं तत् तत् प्राणांस्त्यक्त्वाप्यसाधयत्' इति (राजतर० ५,६२)। 'हितैः साधुसमाचारैः शास्त्रज्ञैर्मतिशालिभिः' इति (पञ्च० १,३७०) योग्यतार्थः।

१५. आख्यातचन्द्रिकायां धाधातोर्बन्धनरूपोऽर्थो भट्टमल्लेन प्रतिपादितः—'नह्यत्यपि दधाति च' (२,५,२३६) रज्ज्वाद्युपपदसंनिधानेन बन्धनाद्यर्थसंभवः। 'युवतयः कुसुमं दधुराहितम्' इति (६,४०) रघुवंशेऽलकाधिकरणकस्य कुसुमस्य स्थापनेऽपि नेहाऽऽधानमर्थः, अलके कुसुमस्य बन्धनपूर्वकमवलम्बनत्वाद् बन्धनरूपोऽर्थो विज्ञेयो धाधातोः। एवमेवान्येऽप्यर्था यथायथमूह्याः। सन्धानानुसन्धानावधानाभिधानाद्यर्था धातोरेवेति ते गवेष्याः। एवं ह्युपसर्गा द्योतका न तु वाचकाः।

एवं तावद् धाधातुः पञ्चदशस्वर्थेषु प्रयुज्यमानः समीक्षितः—

१. निधानम् (आधानम्), २. पोषणम्, ३. दानम्, ४. विधानम् (करणम्), ५. सांगत्यम्, ६. जननम्, ७. प्राप्तिः, ८. अङ्गीकारः, ९. परिधानम् १०. प्रयोगः, ११. घटनम्, १२, रोपणम्, १३. स्मृतिः, १४. आनुकूल्यम्, १५. बन्धनं चेति।

भारोपीयभाषाया मूलध्वनिर्विद्यते 'धे' इति धारणार्थकः स्थापनार्थको वा। अवेस्तालैटिनभाषयोः संस्कृतधकारो दकारतया लभ्यते–अवे० ददा इति (∠सं० दधाति), अवे०, पु० पर्सि०–दात, लिथु० देतस् (∠सं० धितः)। ग्रीकभाषायां संस्कृतधकारस्थकारत्वेनोपलभ्यते–एथेतो (∠सं० अधित), थेतोस् (∠सं० हितः) इति (द्र० जूलियस् पाकर्नीसंपादित इण्डोजर्मनिकभाषाणां व्युत्पत्तिकोशे पृ०२३५)। अवेस्ताभाषायामपि संस्कृतस्य धकारस्थकारत्वेन दृश्यते–'दथानहे' (∠सं० दधानस्य)–यस्न ६,३१=प्रीतिं कर्तुः। एवं तावदिह तर्पणार्थको धातुः। दथंतम् (सं० दध[न्]तम्)–यस्न ६,१ इति। इयं 'धे' इति प्रकृतिः संस्कृतभाषायां 'धेहि' इत्यत्र लभ्यते। प्राकृतभाषायां तु 'धे' इति स्वतन्त्रो धातुर्धारणार्थकः:–धेई–संक्षि. ३३, कुप्र. १०० इति।

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बौद्ध-न्यायवैशेषिकदृष्ट्या शब्दानां समानार्थकता

मोहन धडफळे

पुण्यपत्तनम्

इदमन्धं तमः कृत्स्नं जायेत भुवनत्रयम् ।
यदि शब्दाह्वयं ज्योतिरासंसारं न दीप्यते ।।

(काव्यादर्शे.१.४.)

सर्वस्यैव प्रमेयस्य ज्ञानं शब्देभ्यो वाक्येभ्यश्च सम्भवति, शब्दद्वारा वाक्यद्वारा च ज्ञानं परस्परेभ्यः संप्रदीयते । शब्दार्थविचारणा हि अस्माकं भारतीयानां, प्राचीनेषु, वैदिकावैदिकेषु दर्शनेषु, कामपि महत्तां विधत्ते । बौद्धानां नैयायिकवैशेषिकानां च दृष्ट्या शब्दार्थयोः यः सम्बन्धः स तत्तद्दर्शनग्रन्थैः बहुशः स्फुटीकृतः । स एष विषयः उभयदर्शनविदां पण्डितानां न केनाप्यंशेनापरिचितः । । अत एव अस्मिन् लघुनि निबन्धने शब्दार्थसम्बन्धविषये यादृशी दृष्टिः एतयोः दर्शनयोः स्वीकृता तां संक्षेपेणैव समुल्लिख्य अस्य निबन्धनस्य यो विषयः, तस्य विवेचनं प्रारप्स्यते ।

अथातो नैयायिकानां शब्दार्थविषया मतिः । नैयायिकाः वैशेषिकाश्च यथार्थवादिनः, बाह्यपदार्थान् अनपन्हुवानाः, जातिं सामान्यं वा स्वीकुर्वाणाः, शब्दानां तेषामर्थानां च साक्षात्सम्बन्धं प्रतिपादयन्तः, मूलतः शब्देभ्यस्तदनन्तरं शब्दसमूहात्मकेभ्यश्च वाक्येभ्यः अर्थनिष्पत्तिं अभ्युपयन्तः, खण्डपक्षमङ्गीकुर्वाणाः तत्त्वज्ञाः ।

बौद्धाः हि अयथार्थवादिनः, बाह्यपदार्थान् विलोपयन्तः, शब्दान् हि विकल्पयोनींस्तथा विकल्पांश्च शब्दयोनीन् कल्पयन्तः, सामान्यं जातिं वा अत्यन्तमसहमानाः, केनचिदंशेन **व्याडिवत्** अखण्डपक्षमाश्रयन्तः (अत्रेदमवधेयं यद् यद्यपि व्याडिः वाक्यार्थविषये भेदपक्षमवलम्बयति तथापि शब्दार्थविषये, 'शब्दाः द्रव्याभिधायिनः' इत्येव मन्यते) संक्षेपतो हि अखण्डेभ्यः वाक्येभ्यः, अपोहद्वारा अनुमितिमनुसृत्यैव, अर्थनिष्पत्तिं अभ्युपगच्छन्तः तत्त्वज्ञाः ।

अथ नैयायिकसमयतः संकेतद्वारा शब्देभ्यः वाक्येभ्यश्च साक्षादर्थनिष्पत्तिर्भवतु अथवा वाक्येभ्यः एव अपोहद्वारा वाक्यार्थः समुल्लसतु, अस्माकं तु न

क्वचिदपि पक्षपातो वा स्वारस्यं वा । किन्तु उभयोरपि एतयोः पक्षयोः समानार्थक-पदानां समानशक्तिकवाक्यानां च का व्यवस्थितिर्भविष्यति इत्येवास्माकं चिन्ता । तत्र समुद्भवतः द्वाविमौ मौलिकौ प्रश्नौ ।

(१) किं भाषासु यथार्थतः पूर्णतश्च समानार्थकानि पदानि वाक्यानि वा सम्भवन्ति ?

(२) भवन्ति चेत्, का तेषामुपपत्तिः, कथं हि सा उपपत्तिः प्रतिज्ञातेन तत्त्वज्ञानेन संगच्छते ?

अत्र कश्चिद्ब्रूयात्, अलमनेन समानार्थविषयिणा काव्यशास्त्रकुक्षिपतितेन विवेचनेन । कः खलु सम्बन्धः अस्याः समस्यायाः न्यायेन सार्धम् ? संशीतेः अस्याः समाधानं त्वित्थम्—

आधुनिके हि पाश्चात्यतत्त्वज्ञाने विशेषतः संकेतात्मकन्यायसमये नाम Symbolic Logic इत्यस्मिन्विषये कार्नाप-क्वाइन-लेविस-गुडमनप्रभृतिभिः अपौर-स्त्यनव्यनैयायिकैः बहुशश्चर्चितः अयं विषयः । अतः अस्मिन्विषये अस्माकं प्राचीनन्याय-ग्रन्थेषु वैदिकेषु अवैदिकेषु च कियती विचारणा सञ्जाता, किं च तस्याः स्वरूप-मित्यादेः आलोचनं न निष्फलं भवितुमर्हति इतीमां श्रद्धां हृदि निधायैव विधाय च गुरुवन्दनं अस्मत्प्रतिपादनं विद्वद्भ्यः समर्प्यते—तत्र भवत्विदं मङ्गलम् —

[1]गौतमद्वितयं नत्वा, नुत्वा च गुरुशेमुषीम् ।
समानार्थकताव्याख्यां प्रारभे न्यायसम्मताम् ।।

त्रिभागात्मकं हि अस्माकं विवेचनम् । तत्र प्रथमो भागः नाम पाश्चात्यानां दृष्ट्या समानार्थकपदवाक्यानां विचारणा । मूलतो हि इयं विचारणा द्वयोः वाक्ययोः (Propositions) समानन्याय्यशक्तिविषयिणी ।

१) किं भाषासु द्वे वाक्ये एकमेव न्याय्यसत्यं (Logical truth) प्रतिपादयतः दृश्येते ?

२) यदि च सम्भवति एषा स्थितिस्तर्हि अर्थवद्विधानानां प्रयोजनवद्वाक्यानां वा (Significant propositions) प्रतिपादनं ध्रुवमेव सुकरं भवेत् यतः एतादृशि अर्थवद्वाक्यानि प्रायः विश्लेषणात्मकानि (Analytical) भवन्ति क्वचिच्च अनुभव-

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१—न्यायसूत्राणां प्रणेता, शाक्यमुनिश्च ।

प्रतिष्ठितानि (Matter of fact Statements) भवन्ति । तत्र यानि वाक्यानि[2] 'सर्वतः सत्यवाचीनि' (Tautologuous) तानि तु विश्लेषणात्मकानि भवन्ति हि । कार्नाप-नैयायिकस्य इदं आश्वासनं यद् विश्लेषणात्मकानि वाक्यानि सर्वदा समानार्थकनिकषबलाद् प्रतिष्ठां प्राप्नुयुरिति । परं क्वाइन्प्रभृतयः समानार्थक-प्रतिष्ठायां विश्लेषणात्मकवाक्यानि न साधयितुमिच्छन्ति यतस्तेषां मते समानार्थकता अपि तादृगेव असिद्धा यादृग् विश्लेषणात्मकता । परस्पराश्रयदोषमेतं न ते स्वीकर्तुमिच्छन्ति । अनुवादार्हतां (Translatability) हि पर्यायत्वस्य लक्षणं मन्यते कार्नापः, परं एषा अनुवादार्हताऽपि सर्वथा लौकिकशब्दार्थावलम्बिता, लौकिकेभ्य-एव शब्देभ्यः प्रत्येकस्य ग्रहीतुः भिन्न एव अर्थग्रहः, अतः 'प्रतिग्रहीतारं भिन्नरूपां' इमां समानार्थकतां न प्रतिपत्तुमर्हामि इति क्वाइन् संख्याति । ननु लक्ष्यलक्षणयोः समानार्थकता किं नावलम्ब्यते ?—सत्यं, लक्ष्यपदस्य लक्षणपदस्य च समानार्थकता भवति परं लक्षणपदमपि लौकिक्या भाषया एव व्यवहृतं भवति । कदाचित् भाषां परित्यज्य सर्वत्रैव यदि परिभाषया एव व्यवहारः प्रारप्स्यते तर्हि कदाचित् समानार्थकता सेत्स्यति यथा 'अदर्शनं लोपः' (पाणिनिः१.१.६०) इत्यत्र अदर्शनलोपयोः पूर्णतः समानार्थकता संभवति । एतादृशी समानार्थकता क्वाइन्मते 'सुप्रसन्ना समानार्थकता' (Transparent Synonymy) भवति । परं अत्रापि इदं न विस्मर्तव्यं यद् परिभाषिक्याः संज्ञायाः अपि यद् विवरणं तत्तु लौकिकभाषया एव सम्भवति । एकस्याः परिभाषायाः विवरणं अन्यया परिभाषया, तस्याः अपि अन्यया इत्यनवस्थितिरेव प्रसज्येत ।

अपि च समानार्थकतासिद्धौ अर्थस्य (meaning) वाच्यव्यक्तेश्च (referatum) एकरूपताऽपि अपेक्षिता एव । शङ्करस्तु एका व्यक्तिस्तथापि हरपदस्य भवपदस्य चार्थौ परस्परविभिन्नावेव जनक-विनाशक-रूपौ । अतः यत्र हि समानार्थकता एव न सम्भवति तत्र तामवलम्ब्य विश्लेषकवाक्यानां सिद्धिस्तु दूरमेव ।

पाश्चात्यानां समानार्थकविषयिणी मतिः विशेषान् सर्वानपाकृत्य अत्यन्तसामान्यस्वरूपेणैव (शङ्के असम्यक्तयापि) एव प्रदर्शिता । अधुना समानार्थकविषये नैयायिकानां मतिः । –

प्रथममेव इदमालोचनीयं यद् नैयायिकाः भाषायां समानार्थकपदानां सद्भावं

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२. एष अनुवादः पुण्यपत्तन-विद्यापीठ-तत्त्वज्ञान-विभागाध्यक्षैः प्राध्यापक-बार्लिंगे महोदयैः स्वीये पाश्चात्य-नव्य-न्याय-विषयके 'मराठी'-भाषामाश्रित्य लिखिते ग्रन्थे विहितः ।

प्रतियन्ति । गौतमर्षिणा हि अनेकेषु स्थलेषु पर्यायशब्दैरेव सूत्राणि साधितानि, यथा 'बुद्धिरुपलब्धिर्ज्ञानमित्यनर्थान्तरम्' (गौ. सू. १. १. १५) । पुनरुक्तता च सूत्रेषु निग्रहस्थानत्वेन स्वीकृता 'शब्दार्थयोः पुनर्वचनं पुनरुक्तमन्यत्रानुवादात्' इत्यत्र । अनुवादो हि व्याख्यारूपो भवति अतः स सप्रयोजनकः परं निष्प्रयोजनं पुनरभिधानं पुनरुक्तिदोषमेव आवहति इत्यभिप्रायः । भाष्यकृतो हि शब्दपुनरुक्तमर्थपुनरुक्तमिति पुनरुक्तं द्वैविध्यं दर्शयन्ति । शब्दपुनरुक्तं यथा 'नित्यः शब्दोऽनित्यः शब्दः' इति । अर्थपुनरुक्तं 'अनित्यः शब्दो निरोधधर्मको ध्वान' इति । वृत्तिकृतस्तु एतयोः पुनरुक्तयोः एवंरूपे व्याख्ये अर्पयन्ति यद् 'समानार्थकपूर्वानुपूर्वीकशब्दप्रयोगः शब्दपुनरुक्तं, 'समानार्थकभिन्नानुपूर्वीकशब्दस्य निष्प्रयोजनं पुनरभिधानं अर्थपुनरुक्तमिति । गौतमर्षेरभिप्रेता पुनरुक्तिस्तु एतावती कर्कशा यत्तं "अर्थादापन्नस्य स्वशब्देन पुनर्वचनमपि" पुनरुक्तिदुष्टं मन्यन्ते । भाष्यकृतश्चैतत् स्पष्टीकुर्वन्ति यद् यदि कश्चिद् ब्रूयात् 'अनुत्पत्तिधर्मकं नित्यमिति' तर्हि तत्पुनरुक्तं वेदितव्यम् । अर्थसंप्रत्ययार्थे शब्दप्रयोगे प्रतीतः सोऽर्थोऽर्थापत्त्या । वृत्तिकृतोऽपि विवृण्वन्ति यद् 'यस्मिन्नुक्ते यस्यार्थस्य औत्सर्गिकी प्रतिपत्तिर्भवति तस्य तेन रूपेण पुनरभिधानं पुनरुक्तम् । यथा वह्निरुष्ण इति पूर्वपदाक्षिप्तोक्तिः । उष्णो वह्निरिति उत्तरपदाक्षिप्तोक्तिः । जीवन्गेहे नास्ति बहिरस्ति इति निषेधाक्षिप्तोक्तिः । एवं बहिरस्ति गेहे नास्ति इति विध्याक्षिप्तोक्तिः । अतः इदं स्पष्टं भवति यद् अनुमितिप्राप्तस्यार्थस्याभिधानमपि (**वात्स्यायनमिश्राः** अर्थापत्तिं अनुमानरूपामेव मन्यन्ते-द्रष्टव्यम् भाष्यम्. २. २. २) पुनरुक्तिं गणयन्ति सूत्रकृतः । व्याकरणोपमानकोशाप्तवाक्येभ्यश्च शक्तिग्रहं गृह्णन्तः ग्राहयन्तश्च नैयायिकाः भाषायां समानार्थकपदवाक्यानि अनुजानन्ति इत्यसंदिग्धम् । अत्र विशेषतः हृद्यं तु अर्थापत्तिः (अर्थादापन्नता वा) इत्येतत्पदम् । अस्माकं त्वियं श्रद्धा यद् यैः पाश्चात्त्याभिप्रेतस्य Tautology इत्येतत्पदस्य 'सर्वतः सत्यं' इत्यनुवादो विहितः न तैः उपलक्षितमर्थापत्तिप्रमाणम् । अपरं च प्राध्यापकैः **श्रीनिवासदीक्षितैः** ("The redundance of the vyatirekavyāpti of the Nyāya system." philosophical Quarterly. 23, 1950 PP 99-13-16) व्यतिरेकव्याप्तेः पुनरुक्ततां दर्शयितुं बहु नाम आयासितः आत्मा । परं यदि तैः समीक्षितं स्यात् 'न्यायसार'गतं 'न्यायतात्पर्यदीपिकादीपितं विवेचनं तर्हि स्वीयस्यैव लेखनस्य निष्प्रयोजनकं पुनरभिधानं अवेदयिष्यन् प्राध्यापकमिश्राः । **भासर्वज्ञेन** हि स्फुटमभिहितं साधर्म्योदाहरणेऽभिहिते वैधर्म्योदाहरणं पुनरुक्तमेव । 'तात्पर्यदीपिका'ऽपि प्रपञ्चयति "दृष्टान्तो हि व्याप्तिनिश्चित्यै निदर्श्यते सा चेदेकेनैव सिद्धा तदा द्वितीयो बलादपि पौनरुक्त्यकुक्षिनिक्षिप्तः स्यात् । ननु हेतोः अन्वयव्यतिरेकावगमार्थं उभयमविधेयमिति चेन्न । अन्वयव्यतिरेकिणोऽन्यत्र साधर्म्यवैधर्म्योदाहरणयोरवश्यम्भावाभावात् अन्वयव्यतिरेकिण्यपि परापेक्षां विना यदा द्वयमभिधीयते तदा पौनरुक्त्यमेव अपेक्षायां तु न

कश्चिद्दोषः इति । यदि हि पाश्चात्यरीतिमवलम्ब्य वयं पृच्छेम नैयायिकान् "कथं हि भवतां पक्षे—

१) निरोधधर्मको ध्वानः भवति ।

२) अनित्यः शब्दः विद्यते/अस्ति ।

इमे द्वे वाक्ये समानशक्तिके भवतः इति । तर्हि ते ब्रूयुः "समानार्थक-पदवन्धनिवन्धनवत्त्वात्" इति । परं "कथं द्वौ पदार्थौ समानार्थकौ भवतः" इति पृष्टास्ते एवं वदेयुः "समानजातिकत्वात्तेषा"मिति । अथेदं जातितत्त्वस्य स्वीकरणं नैयायिकवैशेषिकानां समानार्थकतायाः स्पष्टीकरणे महन्नामोपकारकं जातम् । घटकलशपदयोः भिन्नत्वं केवलं वर्णावलम्बि न त्वर्थतः । अयं ह्यभिप्रायः जातिवाधक-संग्रहकारिकायां व्यक्तेरभेदस्तुल्यत्वमित्याद्यां तुल्यत्वमिति पदस्य विवरणे बहुभिः स्फुटीकृतः । परं यैः बौद्धनैयायिकैः जातिरेव समस्ता निरस्ता तेषां पक्षे समानार्थक-पदानि दुःसाध्यानि भवन्ति हि । तथा च 'किं प्रतिपर्यायं स्फोटो भिद्यते वा न वा' इत्येतद्रूपा समस्या वैयाकरणानपि पीडयत्येव । परं अप्रस्तुतत्वान्न स विषयः अत्र समालोच्यते ।

अधुना लक्ष्यलक्षणयोः या समानार्थकता सा विचार्यते । **कार्नापेन** एतादृशी समानार्थकता प्रतिपन्ना । **गौतमर्षिणा**ऽपि बुद्धिरुपलब्धिर्ज्ञानमित्यनर्थान्तर'मिति (गौ. सू. १.१. १५) सूत्रं रचयता उररीकृता लक्ष्यलक्षणयोः समानार्थकता । अत्र कश्चिन्मन्येत केवलपर्यायोच्चारणमेतत् कथं हि तत् बुद्धेर्लक्षणं स्यात् ? **जयन्त-भट्ट**स्त्वियं शङ्का अपेक्ष्यैव समाधानमपि विहितम् । 'पर्यायप्रयोगस्यैव लक्षणवत्त्वात्', लक्षणं हि तदुच्यते येन समानेतरजातीयेभ्यो लक्ष्यं व्यवच्छिद्यते, व्यवच्छेद्यते च बुद्धिर्बुद्ध्यादिपर्यायवाच्यतयैव तेभ्यः, इति न अभिधानमालामात्रमिदम् । **क्वाइन्स**दृशः कश्चिद् अत्र इदमपि आशङ्केत यद् शब्दार्थप्रत्ययस्य सामयिकत्वाद्, समयस्य च पुरुषेच्छानिवर्त्यत्वात्, कथमिदं लक्षणं स्यादिति । अस्याः आशङ्कायाः **जयन्तभट्ट**-कृतसमाधानं त्वेवं यद् "सर्वजनीनस्य समयस्य विप्लावयितुमशक्यत्वाद् तद्विशिष्टस्य तद्वाच्यस्य लक्षणत्वात्" अत्र हि मन्यामहे यद् **जयन्तभट्टैः** पाश्चात्यनव्यनैयायिका-नामेव उत्तरं प्रदत्तम् । एते हि नैयायिकाः लौकिकीं भाषां विहाय चिह्नात्मिकां परिभाषात्मिकां वा अन्यामेव भाषां विरचयितुं यतन्ते । परं लौकिकी अपि भाषा न तावती स्वच्छन्दानुसारिणी यावती सा शङ्क्यते एतैः पाश्चात्यैः । लौकिकी अपि भाषा समयमनुवर्तत एव । समयः सङ्केतः । स हि यदि सर्वैः प्रमाणीक्रियते तर्हि न काऽप्यनवस्था प्रसज्येत । अपरं च पाश्चात्यनैयायिकैः उत्प्रेक्षिता 'आदर्शभाषा'

(Ideal language) यदि कदाचित्सद्भावमपि प्राप्नुयात्तथापि तत्र कार्नापस्य यदभिप्रेतं चिह्नं तदेव किं तदर्थधिया एव क्वाइन् अनुमन्येत ? एवं उभयत्रापि समानो दोषः, परिहारोऽपि समः एव, अतः नैकेनान्यः पर्यनुयोक्तव्यः ।

अथ अपरः प्रश्नः । अत्यन्ताभावलक्षणयोः द्वयोरर्थयोः समानार्थकता कथं सेत्स्यति ? अत्र निदर्शनं वन्ध्यापुत्र-खपुष्पयोः । द्वावप्यर्थौ अत्यन्तासन्तौ परं लौकिकभाषायां, अत्यन्ताभावे वाच्ये, द्वे अपि पदे पर्यायेण प्रयुज्येते ।—द्वयोस्त्वेतयोः व्याप्तिरेव न विद्यते, अविद्यमानसत्ताकत्वात् ।

अस्मिन्विचारांशे वैयाकरणनैयायिकानामैकमत्यम् । यथा च हरिः कथयति-

अत्यन्तमतथाभूते निमित्ते श्रुत्युपाश्रयात् ।
दृश्यतेऽलातचक्रादौ वस्त्वाकारनिरूपणा ॥

(वाक्यपदीये प्रथमे काण्डे. १३२)

उदयनोऽपि कुसुमाञ्जलौ भाट्टमतं प्रमाणयति 'अत्यन्तासत्यपि ह्यर्थे ज्ञानं शब्दः करोति हि' इत्यादिकम् । एषा हि विचारसरणिः क्वाइन्पण्डितस्य अतीवाभिमता स्यात्, यतः कार्नापोपरि महतीं कृपाणवृष्टिमुत्सृजन् अयं तार्किकः एवं मन्यते यद् या हि कठिनता समानार्थकतासमस्यायाः सा हि प्रायः वस्त्वर्थं (Extension) महयद्भिरनुभूता । परं समानार्थकता हि प्राधान्येन अर्थसम्बन्धिनी न वस्तुसम्बन्धिनी इति भवेत् यदा प्रतीतिस्तदा विजटीभविष्यति एषा समस्या इति । अतः येषां वस्तुरूपता एव नास्ति (Nil extension) तेषामपि उद्देश्यकतासम्भवाद् संभवत्येव अर्थद्वारा समानार्थकता, यथा पाश्चात्यानां अभिमतनिदर्शनयोः (Unicorn) तथा (Centaur) इत्येतयोः समानार्थकता न प्रतिषिध्यते । अत एव गुडमन्-न्यायविदा उत्प्रेक्षितस्य गौणस्य वस्त्वर्थस्य न आवश्यकः अभ्युपगमः । अयं हि विद्वानेवं मनुते यत् यदा शब्दस्य वस्त्वर्थो रिक्तः तदा स शब्दः शब्दसमूहो वा तथा वर्धितव्यः यथा भावकक्षामवगाहेत समुदायार्थः । यथा 'वन्ध्यासुतायाः चित्रम्' तथा 'ब्रह्मचारिणः पुत्रस्य चित्रम्' इतिवत् । अत्र हि ब्रह्मचारिणोऽपि पुत्रस्तथैव असिद्धः यथा वन्ध्यायाः सुतः परं चित्रस्य अस्तित्वं संभवति अतः यदि एतया रीत्या प्राप्तौ समुदायार्थौ द्वौ समानौ तर्हि तयोः समानार्थकता । परं एतदपेक्षया उपर्युदधृतम् हरिकुमारिलयोर्मतं युक्ततरम् । अतः नास्तु वस्त्वर्थः, समानार्थकता हि गुणार्थसम्बन्धवत्त्वात् (Intension) अत्यन्ताभावे पर्यवस्यतः वन्ध्यापुत्रखपुष्पयोः संभवत्येव । अत्यन्ताभावदर्शनैकप्रवृत्तिनिमित्तकत्वे सति विभिन्नानुपूर्वीकत्वात्तयोः ।

अथ अन्तिमे तृतीये विभागे अपोहपक्षे समानार्थकतायाः अवस्थितिः व्याख्यायते ।

यथा हि न्यायवादिनस्तथा बौद्धवादिनोऽपि समानार्थकतां अनुजानन्ति । 'वेवचनानि बहूनि' इति स्पष्टमुक्तं 'नेत्ति' ग्रन्थे । यथा गौतमर्षिणा तथा गौतमेनापि बुद्धेन पर्यायनद्वारा एव नैकवारं प्रणीतानि लक्षणानि । यथा हि गौतमर्षिः 'बुद्धिर्ज्ञानमुपलब्धिरित्यनर्थान्तर' मिति सूत्रयति तथा च 'धम्मसङ्गणि' ग्रन्थेऽपि पञ्ञा, पजानना,⋯⋯ पाण्डिच्चं, कोसल्लं, नेपुञ्ञं,⋯⋯चिन्ता, उपपरिक्खा, भूरी, मेधा—इदं पञ्ञिन्द्रियं होति' इति प्रज्ञायाः लक्षणमुपलभ्यते । लक्षणं हि सर्वदा लक्ष्यतावच्छेदकसमनियतं भवति । अतस्तदपि पर्यायितां नातिक्रमते यथा पदार्थत्वं ज्ञेयत्वं, प्रमितिविषयत्वमित्यादिषु अनर्थान्तरता एव । परं इदं चिन्तनीयं यत् सामान्यं जातिं वा निरस्तवन्तः स्वलक्षणवादिनः बौद्धाः द्वयोः पदयोर्वाक्ययोर्वा समानता कथं समर्थयेयुरिति । अत्र एका एव गतिर्विद्यते । ययोर्द्वयोः अपोह्यविषयः समानस्तयोः समानार्थकता यथा घटकलशयोः क्रमात् घटेतरव्यावृत्तिः कलशेतरव्यावृत्तिः समव्याप्तिके एव, अत एव समाने एते पदे, अत एव समानार्थकता तयोः । इयं उपपत्तिः जयन्तभट्टैः [३]'न्यायमञ्जर्यां' प्रमाणप्रकरणे मीमांसकरीत्या अपोहनिराकरणविभागे बौद्धैः पूर्वपक्षिभिः स्वीयस्य अपोहवादस्य सिद्ध्यर्थं प्रकटितानां युक्तिवादानां संदर्भे प्रसङ्गतः परीक्षिता । परं परीक्ष्यमाणा सा सिकताकूपवद्विदीर्यमाणेव लक्षिता । जयन्तभट्टवचनान्येव पुरःस्थाप्यन्ते – "अश्वादयश्च विधिरूपतया भवन्मते न गृह्यन्ते किं तु अन्यव्यवच्छेदकेन एव इति तेषामपि व्यवच्छेदग्रहणे सैव वार्ता इति नेदानीं विकल्पैः क्वचिदपोहो विषयीकर्तुं शक्यते, निर्विकल्पेन च न कश्चिद् व्यवहारः इति सकलयात्रोत्सादप्रसङ्गः, किं च ये एते शावलेयादिशब्दाः ते सर्वे एव अपोहवाचित्वाविशेषात्पर्यायाः स्युः, अपोहभेदाददोष इति चेत्, न । अपोहानां भेदाभावात् । भिद्यमानत्वे वा स्वलक्षणवदेषां वस्तुत्वप्रसक्तिः" । अथ अपोहवादी ब्रूयात् न्यायपक्षेऽपि सामान्यमात्रवाचित्वाविशेषात् पर्यायित्वं समानो दोष इति, तन्न संगतम्, यतः सामान्यानां विधिरूपत्वात् परस्परसंरहितस्वभावतया नानात्वावगमात्, अपोहस्तु अभावमात्ररूपविशेषान्न परस्परं भिद्यते । अथ यदि अपोह्यभेदेन अपोहभेदमवधार्य पर्यायिता पराणुद्यते तर्हि तदपि असारं स्यात् यतः अपोह्यभेदात्सम्भवन् भेदः पर्यायित्वं अपहन्तुं न शक्तः यथा भाक्तो हि अयं भेदः, न मुख्यः । अपोह्यभेदादपि न अपोहस्य भेदः अवकल्पते यतः यः भेदः सम्भाव्यमानसंसर्गैः आधारैरपि भेत्तुं न पार्यते स दूरवर्तिभिः अलब्धसम्बन्धैः अतिबाह्यैः कथं भिद्येत ।

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३ 'न्यायमञ्जरी' सन्दर्भाः सर्वे प्रमाणप्रकरणे सुलभाः अत एव पृष्ठाङ्का न दीयन्ते ।

एतस्माद् वादावलोचनादेतदुपलभ्यते यद् अपोहपक्षे सर्वेषामेव पदानां पर्यायताशङ्का या परैरुद्भाविता, तां निराकर्तुं अपोहवादिभिः (१) अपोहभेदः, (२)-अपोह्यभेदः (३) अपोह्यभेदश्च इति बहवो भेदाः पुरःस्थापिताः। अथ ये हि भेदाः पर्यायतानिराकरणे उपयोजितास्तानेव भेदान् समालम्ब्य पर्यायतासाधनं नाम कुठारनिपातनेन जीवनप्रापणं एव भवेत्।

उद्योतकरेणापि दर्शितं यद् अपोहवादमाश्रित्य सर्व-द्व्यादिशब्दानां अर्थ-निष्पत्तिरेव न संभवेत् यतः 'न हि असर्वं नाम किञ्चिदस्ति यत् सर्वपदेन निवर्त्यते' (न्यायवार्तिक. पृ. ३३२.)। 'द्वि' पदस्यापि कोऽर्थः अपोहपक्षे ? द्व्येतरव्यावृत्त्यात्मा, परं द्व्येतरे एकोऽपि संभवति, एकमधिकमेकं च 'द्वे' भवति (भवतः वा)। अथ यदि द्व्येतरव्यावर्तनाव्यापारे एकस्यापि प्रतिषेधः जायेत तर्हि द्वयस्य ('द्वि' इत्येतत्पदस्य च) सिद्धिरेव न जायेत। एतादृशः बहवो दोषाः अपोहपक्षे उत्थापिताः। परं इदं अवधारणीयं यद् यच्छान्तरक्षितकमलशीलादिभिः अपोहतत्त्वं मण्डितं तन्न तथा दुष्टं यथा अपोहं निराकुर्वद्भिरवधारितम्। शान्तरक्षितकमलशीलयोर्मते यथा 'पीनो देवदत्तः दिवा न भुंक्ते' इत्यत्र दिवा अभोजनं साक्षात् रात्रौ भोजनं चार्थापत्त्या इति एकस्यापि वाक्यस्य अर्थफलद्वयं संभवति तथैव एक एव शब्दः अभावात्मकं भावात्मकं च अर्थद्वयं समर्पयति। परं अपोहसिद्धिकारेण रत्नकीर्तिना एतदपि मतं विमानितम्। तस्य मते 'अन्यापोहविशिष्टो विजातिव्यावृत्त्यर्थो विधिः स एव चापोह-शब्दवाच्यः शब्दानामर्थः" (अपोहसिद्धौ. पृ. १७) यथा नीलोत्पले निवेशिताद्, इन्दीवरशब्दात् नीलोत्पलप्रतीतौ तत्काल एव नीलिमस्फुरणं तथा गोशब्दादपि (तत्रैव. पृ. ४)।

अस्मन्मते अपोहवादेन बहु नाम उपकृतं पश्चात्तनीयं आस्तिकमपि न्याय-शास्त्रम्। कुञ्जुन्निराजमिश्रैस्तु स्फुटमभिहितं ("ब्रह्मविद्या" खण्ड-१८. ग्रन्थ ३-४. डिसेम्बर १९५४ पृ. १९३) यदनन्तरीयैः नैयायिकैः व्याप्त्यादेः यदभावात्मकं लक्षणं अदायि तद्धि बौद्धप्रभावतः यथा 'हेतुसमानाधिकरणात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगिसाध्यसामा-नाधिकरण्यम्' परं ततोऽप्यधिकोऽपि अपोहवादस्य प्रभावः लक्षणलक्षणे दृश्यते अव्याप्त्य-तिव्याप्त्यादिदोषपरिहारः व्यावर्तने एव पर्यवस्यति। अपरं च 'सप्त पदार्थाः' इति उक्ते किमर्थं तर्कदीपिका एवं दीपयेत् यत् 'सप्तग्रहणं व्यर्थमिति चेन्न, अधिकसंख्या-व्यवच्छेदार्थकत्वात्' अनन्तरीयं अपि विवेचनं 'ननु अतिरिक्तः प्रमितो वा न वा' इत्यादिकं तादृगेव यादृग् दृश्यते अपोहवादे अभिरोपिते दोषे 'अपोह्यस्यापि अपोह्य-त्वादिरूपे'। अपरं च विशेषः, व्यवच्छेदकं इत्यादीनि पदानि किं दर्शयन्ति ? प्रत्येकं पदं यदुक्तं वादकोटिभिस्तदेव हि समासेन ब्रूते इति अस्माकं मतिः। विशिनष्टि इति विशेषः अपवहते इत्येवार्थः तथा व्यवच्छिनत्ति इत्यपि पदं व्यावर्तनीयं अपोह्यं व्याव-

र्तयति अपवहृति इत्येवार्थं प्रकाशयति । अपि च यः बौद्धैः सम्प्रयुक्तः विकल्पः इति शब्दः तस्यापि धात्वर्थः मुख्यः च्छेदनात्मक एव । अत एव 'विकल्पयोनयः शब्दाः विकल्पाः शब्दयोनयः' इति दिङ्नागानां असकृदुद्धृते वचने विद्यमानस्य विकल्प-शब्दस्यापि 'image' (द्रष्टव्यम्. कुञ्जुन्निराजः तत्रैव. पृ. १६४.) 'idea' 'conceptual image इत्यादिकाः अनुवादाः न संगताः । वस्तुतस्तु विकल्पनं नाम मनसा साधितं खण्डनं, कर्तनं, व्यवच्छेदनमेव । Klep इति यूरोभारतीयः उत्प्रेक्षितः धातुः तस्मादेव संस्कृतभाषायां 'कल्प' इति धातुः अनुगतः । नापितापरपर्यायोऽपि कल्पक-शब्दः नापितस्य केशकर्तनकारित्वादेव । अपोहपक्षे हि समानार्थकता न सिध्यति साधितव्या एव चेत् सा अपोह्यैक्यात् अपोहैक्यं प्रतिपद्यैव सिध्येत । यथा गवाश्वयो-रन्यापोहेन व्यवस्थाप्यमानयोरगावोऽनश्वाश्च हस्त्यादयोऽपोह्यास्तुल्या भूयांसो भवन्ति, असाधारणस्तु एको, गौरश्वे, गवि चाश्वोऽतिरिच्यते अतः अपोह्यभेदाद्गवा-श्वयोर्भेदो भवति । एतस्यैव युक्तिवादस्य अर्थादाक्षिप्तमनुमानं त्वेवं भवेत् करहस्तयो-रन्यापोहेन व्यवस्थाप्यमानयोरकराः अहस्ताश्च पादादयस्तुल्या भूयांसो भवन्ति असाधारणस्तु करे हस्तः हस्ते च करः अतिरिच्येत । स एष अतिरेकः यद्यतिरेक-स्तर्हि हस्तकरयोरसमानार्थता, नो चेत्समानार्थकता इति मङ्गलम् ।

[४]करं हस्तं समीकृत्य [५]निर्विशेषतयाऽऽत्मनः ।
हस्त्याननगुरुं वन्दे काशीविश्वेश्वरं शिवम् ॥

(४) अञ्जलिं बद्ध्वा इत्यर्थः, पक्षे हस्तकरपदयोः समानार्थकतां साधयित्वा इत्यर्थः ।

(५) अञ्जलिपक्षे निश्छिद्रकतया इत्यर्थः, समानार्थकताविषये निःशेषेण इत्यर्थः ।

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विष्वक्सेनविषये

श्रीपाञ्चरात्रवैखानसयोः मतभेदः

एस्. वि. रघुनाथाचार्यः

तिरुपति

यस्य द्विरदवक्त्राद्याः पारिषद्याः परश्शतम् ।
विघ्नं निघ्नन्ति सततं विष्वक्सेनं तमाश्रये ।।

अथेदानीं प्रस्तूयते यत् विष्णुसेनाधिपस्य श्रीमतः विष्वक्सेनस्य स्वरूपादिषु विषयेषु भगवच्छास्त्रतया सुप्रथितयोः श्रीपाञ्चरात्रवैखानसयोः कस्मिन्नंशे साम्यं कस्मिन्नंशे तदभावः इति सूत्रप्रायेण यावदुपलब्धि । तत्रेदं तत्त्वम् । विष्णवर्चाविधायकयोः शास्त्रयोः श्रीपाञ्चरात्रवैखानसयोः बहुष्वंशेषु वरीवर्ति तावदैकमत्यं तदभावश्चेति न परोक्षं प्रेक्षावताम् । भेदश्च प्रायशः प्रवर्तकसम्प्रदायादिभेदनिबन्धन इत्यत्र नास्ति कश्चन सन्देहः ।

साम्प्रतिके विष्वक्सेनविषये द्वयोः शास्त्रयोः साम्यं भेदश्च दरीदृश्येते सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया परामर्शे क्रियमाणे बहुषु स्थलेषु । कीदृशं साम्यम् ? को वा भेदः ? इत्यमुमंशं संहिताप्रयोगग्रन्थसाहाय्येन अधुनातनविमर्शनपद्धत्या प्रदर्शयितुमेव तावदियानायासः ।

तत्र विष्वक्सेनस्तावत् श्रीमहाविष्णोः सर्वसैन्याध्यक्ष (Commander–in chief) इत्यत्र [1]द्वयोरपि शास्त्रयोः ऐकमत्यं महता संरम्भेण प्रदर्शितं पश्यामो

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१. विष्वक्सेनं प्रापयित्वा प्रपायां तत्र वै रमे ।
पुण्याहवारिणा प्रोक्ष्य स्थापयेत्सैन्यनायकम् ।।

See श्रीप्रश्नसंहिता P. 293L. 21. Pub. K. S. Vidya peetha, Tirupati. 1969.

वयमुभयत्रापि[२]। एवमेव देवोऽसौ श्रीपाञ्चरात्रे[३] वैखानसे च भगवच्छास्त्रे विघ्नविनाशकत्वेन बहुधा परिकीर्तितः। दृश्यते च देवालयेषु अनुष्ठीयमानेषु नैमित्तिककाम्यादिषु निखिलेषूत्सवेषु विना विष्वक्सेनपूजां न कोऽप्युत्सवो निर्वर्त्यत इति। यथा कैश्चित् अनुष्ठीयमानेषु कर्मसु प्रथमं विघ्नेशपूजा तथा दैविकक्रियाकलापेषु विष्वक्सेनमनाराध्य न किमपि प्रारम्भणीयमिति प्रहतः कश्चन सम्प्रदायः चिरन्तनः विलसति।

विचारे क्रियमाणे न केवलं गृह्यकर्मसु किन्तु ग्रन्थप्रणयनादिष्वपि निर्विघ्नपरिसमाप्त्यर्थमनुष्ठीयमाने मङ्गले च विघ्नेशस्तुतिः निबद्धा बहुत्रास्माभिरुपलभ्यते[४]।

एवमेव दृश्यते विष्वक्सेनस्तुतिरपि मङ्गलार्थं कृता बहुषु ग्रन्थेष्वित्यन्यदेतत्। गणाधिपत्वेन विघ्नराजस्य प्रशस्तिर्वर्तते। विष्वक्सेनपरिषदि स विघ्नराजः कश्चन पारिषद्यः। तस्य उत्पत्तिरपि श्रीपाद्मसंहितायामेवमभिवर्णिता[५]।

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२. 'विष्वक्सेनमशेषनिर्जरमहासैन्याधिनाथम्' इत्यादिप्रयोगेषु वैखानसे।

३. विष्वक्सेनः स्मृतो नेता भगवान् शुद्धकर्मणाम्।
तस्मात् नान्यमुपासीत कर्मणां विघ्नशान्तये॥
See श्रीप्रश्नसंहिता P. 293. L. 11.

४. अन्तरायतिमिरोपशान्तये शान्तपावनमनन्तवैभवम्।
तं नरं वपुषि कुञ्जरं मुखे मन्महे किमपि तुन्दिलं महः॥
See नैषधकाव्यम् p. 1. L. 6. Pub. Vavilla. Madras.

५. असुरैरर्दिता देवा बलिनो युद्धदुर्जयैः।
शरण्यं शरणं जग्मुः प्रद्युम्नमभयप्रदम्।
देवाः—आहवेषु वयं दैत्यैर्बलवन्तोऽपि बाधिताः।
यथा ते विघ्नविहता पलायन्ते तथा कुरु॥
प्रद्युम्नस्तैरिति प्रोक्तः क्रुद्धस्संरक्तलोचनः।
कोपात्तस्य समुद्भूतस्सम्यक् स्तम्बेरमाननः॥
सञ्जातं प्राञ्जलिपुटं कुर्वाणं तं पुरःस्थितम्।
तं दृष्टवा गजवद्वक्त्रं प्रोवाचेदं वचस्तदा।
देवानामसुराणाञ्च संग्रामे समुपस्थिते॥
सन्निधाय भवांस्तत्र दैत्यानां विघ्नमाचर।
See पाद्मसंहिता p. 452. L. 20. Pub. Mysore 1887.

पुरा कदाचित् असुरैः पीड्यमानाः सुराः प्रद्युम्नं शरणं प्राप्य 'असुराणां विघ्नं विधेहि' इति तं प्रार्थयामासुः। तेषां पीडाः निशमितवतस्तस्य क्रोधो महान् जातः। तस्मात् कोपात् विनायकोऽयमुत्पन्नः स तेन प्रद्युम्नेन देवासुरयुद्धे असुराणां विघ्नविधायकत्वेन निर्दिष्टः। अत एव वक्तुं शक्यते यत् विष्वक्सेनः एतादृशविघ्नविनाशकपरिषदधिनेता विष्णोः सर्वसैन्याध्यक्ष इति। विष्वक्सेनपरिवारे स्थितानां विघ्नविनाशकत्वं बह्वीषु संहितासु सुष्ठु प्रपञ्चितम्। यथा पारमेश्वरे—

एवं गणाधिपश्चण्डो विक्रमेणापराजितः।
क्रुद्धो विघ्नायुतानां च क्षणात्संहरणक्षमः॥

अत्र प्रथमतः पाञ्चरात्रसिद्धान्तरीत्या विष्वक्सेनविषयः प्रस्तूयते पश्चात् वैखानसरीत्या।

उत्पत्तिनिरूपणम्

अस्य विष्वक्सेनस्य उत्पत्तिविषये पाद्मसंहितायामेवमुपलभ्यते[६]। 'दौवारिकाग्रेसरश्चण्डनामा कदाचित् देवासुरयुद्धे दण्डधरस्सन् दैत्यान् जघान। तस्मात् तुष्टः श्रीमहाविष्णुः स्वस्वरूपं बलमैश्वर्यं च तस्मै दत्वा तं विष्वक्सेन इत्याहूय सर्वसैन्याध्यक्षं चकार।

मूर्तिनिरूपणम्

विष्वक्सेनस्य मूर्तिविषये तावत् भेदो महान् पूर्वोक्तशास्त्रयोः। तत्र श्रीपाञ्चरात्रसिद्धान्तरीत्या तत्स्वरूपमेवमभिवर्णितं वर्तते।

श्रीपाद्मसंहितायां क्रियापादे[७] विष्वक्सेन एवं लक्षितः। चतुर्बाहुः श्यामवर्णः किरीटी लम्बोदरः मुख्येन करेण अभयं प्रददानः, वामदक्षिणहस्ताभ्यां कटिं समालम्ब्य

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६. Ibid, p. 334, L. 2.

७. विष्वक्सेनं चतुर्बाहुं श्यामवर्णं किरीटिनम्।
लम्बोदरं च मुख्येन करेणाभयदायिनम्॥
दक्षिणेन प्रसव्येन समालम्ब्य कटिं स्थितम्।
आसीनमपराभ्यां च हस्ताभ्यां शङ्खचक्रिणम्॥
पाद्मसंहिता Ka. 22–36.

आसीनः, अपराभ्यां कराभ्यां शङ्खचक्रधारीति प्रथमं, ततः पक्षान्तरे एकेन करेण गदां अपरेण तर्जनीमुद्रां च धृतत्वेनापि समभिवर्णितः। अन्यस्मिन् पक्षे अभीति-मुद्राचक्रधरः गदाशङ्खधरः अथवा क्षुरिकावेत्रधारी च स्थितः कथितः। त्रिष्वप्येषु लक्षणेषु, चतुर्भुजत्वं समानमधिगच्छामः।

ईश्वरसंहितायां विष्वक्सेनविषये बहूपन्यस्तम्[८]। तत्र प्रत्यङ्गं विलक्षणतया-भिवर्णितम्। विष्वक्सेने उग्ररूपित्वं शान्तरूपित्वञ्च तत्र विभज्य दर्शितम्। तथैव द्विभुजत्वं चतुर्भुजत्वमपि।

तत्र उग्ररूपः विष्वक्सेनः नवदूर्वाङ्कुराभः, ईषत् पीतवर्णः, चतुर्दंष्ट्रः, चतुर्बाहुः, चतुष्किष्कुः, चतुर्गतिः, सिंहमध्यः, पृथूरस्थलः, दक्षिणावर्तनाभीरन्ध्रवान्, आजानुबाहुः पिङ्गलजटाधरः, द्रवत्कनकपिङ्गाक्षः, पृथुनासिकः, कुटिलभ्रूः, पृथुमाणिक्यकुण्डलवान्, मणिमुकुटहारादिभिः उपशोभितः, चित्रकौशेयवसनः, प्रलयद्वादशादित्यसहस्रगुण-दीधितिः, कुन्देन्दुकान्तिदशनः, तर्जनीमुद्रयान्वितः, शङ्खचक्रगदाधरः श्रोणीतटनिविष्ट पाणिः इति।

शान्तरूपस्तु दंष्ट्रातर्जननिर्मुक्तः, अभयहस्तः, गदाधरः, शङ्खचक्रधरः चतुर्भुज इति।

द्विभुजः विष्वक्सेनस्तु चक्रशङ्खौ विना पूर्वोक्तलक्षणः, गदाविरहितः, अथवा स्थानकासने निक्षिप्तहस्तः, वामकट्यवलम्बितहस्तो वा, गोपनीमुद्रया वा कटकाकार-मुद्रया वा उभाभ्यां पाणिभ्यां विश्रान्तो भवति।

एवं स्थिते शेषसंहितायां विष्वक्सेनलक्षणमेवं निर्दिष्टं[९] वर्तते यत्—शङ्खचक्रधरः वरदाभयहस्तः, सर्वाभरणसंयुक्तः विष्वक्सेन इति।

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८. नवदूर्वाङ्कुराभं च त्वीषत् पीतलकान्तिभाक्।
चतुर्दंष्ट्रं चतुर्बाहुं चतुष्किष्कुं चतुर्गतिम्॥
पूर्णाङ्गं केसरिस्कन्ध पृथूरस्थलराजितम्।
दक्षिणावर्तनिम्नेन नाभीरन्ध्रेण शोभितम्॥
ईश्वरसंहिता 8–110. Pub. Kanchi.

९. शङ्खचक्रधरं देवं वरदाभयदायिनम्।
सर्वाभरणसंयुक्तं विष्वक्सेनमहं भजे'॥
See शेषसंहिता 28–14.

पराशरसंहितायां विष्वक्सेनलक्षणमेवं प्रतिपादितं[१०] यत्-शङ्खचक्रगदाज्ञान-मुद्रादिधारी, किरीटी, पद्मपीठे दक्षिणपादं प्रसार्य वामपादं कुञ्चयित्वा सुखासीनः विष्वक्सेन इति।

विष्णुसंहितायां विष्वक्सेनः अभ्रवर्णत्वेन शङ्खचक्रगदाधरत्वेनाभिवर्णितः[११]।

एतावता पाञ्चरात्रसिद्धान्तानुरोधं विष्वक्सेनस्वरूपनिरूपणं स्थालीपुलाकन्यायेनाकारि। सम्प्रति परिवारे तस्य स्थानं कुत्रेति स्थानविमर्शः अधिक्रियते।

स्थाननिरूपणम्

अथायं विष्वक्सेनः देवालये कुत्र प्रतिष्ठाप्यः ? इत्यस्मिन् विषये बहुधा वदन्ति शास्त्रकाराः तत्र श्रीप्रश्नसंहितायां सोमेशानमध्यभागे विष्वक्सेनः स्थापनीय इत्युक्तम्[१२]।

तस्यामेव संहितायां एकावरणकदेवालये ईशानभागे विष्वक्सेनः स्थाप्य इत्युक्तम्[१३]। अन्ततः एतत्सिद्धं भवति एकावरणके वा अनेकावरणके वा विष्वक्सेनः ईशानदिशि प्रतिष्ठाप्य इति।

प्रासादद्वारस्य वामभागे विष्वक्सेनमण्टपं निर्मेयमिति कंपिञ्जल आह[१४]।

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१०. शङ्खचक्रगदासर्वज्ञानमुद्रादिधारिणम्।
किरीटादिविभूषाङ्गं आसीनं पद्मपीठके॥
प्रसार्य दक्षिणं पादं वामपादं सुकुञ्चितम्।
विष्वक्सेनमहं वन्दे मुक्तिज्ञानादिसाधकम्॥
See पराशरसंहिता

११. विष्वक्सेनोऽभ्रवर्णस्तु शंङ्खचक्रगदाधरः।
See विष्णुसंहिता 6–78.

१२. सोमेशानान्तरे देवं विष्वक्सेनं प्रकल्पयेत्
See श्री प्रश्नसंहिता p. 94. L. 15.

१३. ईशाने सैन्यनाथं च कल्पयेत्कमलासने!
[bid]., P. 94. L. 21.

१४. प्रासादद्वारवामे तु विष्वक्सेनस्य मण्टपम्
See कपिञ्जल संहिता P. 33. L. 2. Pub. Bhadachalam.

एकबेरस्थले परिवारदेवाः न कल्पनीयाः। बहुबेरस्थले एव परिवारदेवाः कल्पनीया इत्युक्त्वा तस्यामेव संहितायां ईशानभागे एव सोमेशानयोर्मध्ये पञ्चमावरणे विष्वक्सेनः कल्पनीय इत्युक्तम्[१५]।

चक्राब्जमण्डलेऽपि ईशानकोणे रथ्यायां विष्वक्सेनः अर्चनीय इति पाद्मे[१६]।

भार्गवतन्त्रेऽपि ईशाने एव कोणे विष्वक्सेनः प्रतिष्ठाप्य इत्युक्तम्[१७]।

विष्वक्सेनसंहितायामपि ईशानदिग्भागे सोमस्य ईशस्य च मध्ये विष्वक्सेनः प्रतिष्ठाप्य इति प्रतिपादितम्[१८]।

विचारे क्रियमाणे ईशानभागे एव विष्वक्सेनस्य स्थितिः बहुत्राभिवर्णिता दृश्यते। तस्मात् ईशानदिग्भागे सोमेशयोः मध्ये विष्वक्सेनस्य स्थानं सर्वसिद्धान्तसम्मतमिति निश्चप्रचम्।

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१५. विष्वक्सेनं तथा तार्क्ष्यं स्वगेहे स्थापयेत्सुधीः
See **कपिञ्जल संहिता**, P. 57. L. 15.

१६. ईशानकोणे रथ्यायां विष्वक्सेनं समर्चयेत्
See P. 67. L. 2.

१७. ईशाने शङ्करस्तत्र क्षेत्रपालं प्रकल्पयेत्।
सोमेशयोरन्तराले विष्वक्सेनं प्रकल्पयेत्॥
See **भार्गवतन्त्र**, 3–34.

१८. सोमेशयोर्मध्यभागे दुर्गां श्यामनिभां भजेत्।
तस्योत्तरे तु विन्यस्य मम रूपं चमूपते॥
श्यामलं पिङ्गलाक्षं तु पिङ्गशूलं सनातनम्।
शङ्खचक्रगदापाणिं चतुर्बाहुं किरीटिनम्॥
पीताम्बरधरं सौम्यं विवृत्ताक्षसमन्वितम्।
तर्जयन्तं च तर्जन्या नासाग्रासन्नया जगत्॥
एवं हि मम रूपं ते पठ्यते मुनिसत्तम।
See **विष्वक्सेन संहिता**, P. 20–173.

भार्यानिरूपणम्

विष्वक्सेनं सकलविबुधप्रौढसैन्याधिनाथं
मुद्राचक्रे वरकरयुगे शङ्खदण्डी दधानम्।
मेघश्यामं सुमणिमकुटं पीतवस्त्रं शुभाङ्गं
ध्यायेद्देवं दलितदनुजं सूत्रवत्या समेतम्।

विष्णुसेनाधिपस्यास्य विष्वक्सेनस्य श्रीपाञ्चरात्रप्रयोगग्रन्थादिषु दृश्यमानेन प्रार्थनाश्लोकेनानेन एका भार्येति सा च नाम्ना सूत्रवतीति च ज्ञायते।

किन्तु पाद्मसंहितायां अस्य देव्याः पुष्पधरेति नामोपलभ्यते[१९]। श्रीप्रश्नसंहितायां तावत् अयं सूत्रवतीनाथत्वेनैव परिकीर्तितः। तत्रैव द्विपवक्त्रादिभिः पूज्यत्वमपि निरूपितम्[२०]।

मुद्रानिरूपणम्

श्रीपाञ्चरात्रभगवच्छास्त्रस्येदमसाधारणं लक्षणं यत् मुद्राप्रतिपादकत्वमिति। शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् विष्वक्सेनमुद्रेति काचन मुद्रा प्रसिद्धा। सा च प्रायशः मुद्रानिरूपणावसरे सर्वत्रापि लक्षिता। तस्याः लक्षणं तावदिदम्–

अङ्गुष्ठेन कनिष्ठादित्रयं संहृत्य तर्जन्याः सुष्ठु, निबन्धनं विष्वक्सेनमुद्रेत्युक्तं श्रीपाद्मे[२१]।

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१९. देवीं च विष्वक्सेनस्य वामपार्श्वे प्रतिष्ठिताम्।
नाम्ना पुष्पधरां कुर्यात् कमलामिव लक्षिताम्॥
See पाद्मसंहिता kr. 22–41.

२०. ततः सूत्रवतीनाथं समभ्यर्च्य यथाविधि।
दर्भपुञ्जं समादाय सेनेशं प्रार्थयेद् गुरुः॥
सेनेश! द्विपवक्त्रादि परिचर्या पदद्वय।
श्री प्रश्न संहिता, p. 379. L. 15.

२१. कनिष्ठादित्रयं ब्रह्मन् संहृत्याङ्गुष्ठकेन च।
निबध्य तर्जनीं भूयो विष्वक्सेनस्य मुद्रिका॥
See पाद्मसंहिता, p. 195. L 246.

पुरुषोत्तमसंहितायामपि मुद्रेयमेवमेव समभिवर्णिता[२२]। श्रीप्रश्नसंहितायामपि एतदभिन्नं मुद्रालक्षणं दरीदृश्यते[२३]।

सामान्यतः मुद्रा नाम करेण वा कराभ्यां वा क्रियमाणा काचन संज्ञा।

'मुदे भगवतः मुद्रां दर्शयेत् देशिकोत्तमः' इत्यादिभिः वाक्यैः एताः संज्ञाः भगवत्प्रीतिजनिका इति ज्ञायते। मुदं द्रावयतीति मुद्रा इति तस्याः व्युत्पत्तिः[२४]।

विष्वक्सेनस्य एतादृशमुद्राप्रदर्शने महदौचित्यं प्रतिभाति। विष्वक्सेनमूर्तिलक्षणे तर्जन्या तर्जयन्तं इत्यस्माभिः पठितम्। अतः तस्य स्वरूपानुरूपसंज्ञाप्रदर्शनेन तस्यावश्यं प्रीतिर्जायते इत्यत्र नास्ति संशयः। अत्रेयमन्वर्था मुद्रेति युक्तमुत्पश्यामः।

विष्वक्सेनमन्त्रः

विष्वक्सेनस्य मन्त्रस्तावत् "ओं नमो भगवते विष्वक्सेनाय" इति द्वादशाक्षरः। विष्वक्सेनस्य बीजं 'क्षम्' इति कपिञ्जलो भगवानाह[२५]।

अयञ्च विष्वक्सेनः सर्वस्मिन्नपि कर्मणि प्रथमं विघ्ननिवारणार्थमर्च्यते। तथाहि तस्य विघ्नराजत्वेन संहितासु कीर्तितत्वात्।

विष्वक्सेनस्य द्वादश नामान्यपि प्रयोगग्रन्थेष्वेवं प्रसिद्धानि[२६]। १. श्रीमान्

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२२. विमुक्ततर्जनीमुष्टिः विष्वक्सेनस्य प्रीतिदा।
See पुरुषोत्तम संहिता, p. 195. L. 14.

२३. कनिष्ठाद्यङ्गुलीस्तिस्रः संहृत्याङ्गुष्ठकेन च।
नियोज्य तर्जनीं भूयो विष्वक्सेनस्य मुद्रिका॥
See श्री प्रश्न संहिता, p. 502. L. 9.

२४. यस्मान्मुदं द्रावयति तस्मान्मुद्रेति कीर्त्यते
I bid., p. 499. L. 15.

२५. See कपिञ्जल संहिता p. 116. L. 18.

२६. श्रीमान् सूत्रवतीनाथः गजास्यमुखसेवितः।
प्रसन्नवदनः शान्तः प्रभाकरसमप्रभः॥
वेत्रपाणिरलीकेशो विश्वरक्षापरायणः।
भक्तान्तरायविध्वंसी आर्यश्रान्तः कृपानिधिः॥
See महोत्सव प्रयोग

२. सूत्रवतीनाथः ३. गजास्यमुखसेवितः ४. प्रसन्नवदनः ५. शान्तः ६. प्रभाकरसमप्रभः ७. वेत्रपाणिः ८. अलीकेशः ९. विश्वरक्षापरायणः १०. भक्तान्तरायविध्वंसी ११. आर्यः १२. अन्तः कृपानिधिः । इमानि च नामानि विष्वक्सेनपूजायां पठ्यन्ते ।

विष्वक्सेनकूर्चलक्षणमप्येवमस्माभिः विलोक्यते श्रीप्रश्नसंहितायां[२७] "षोडश दर्भात्मिका विष्वक्सेनकूर्चेति ।

एतावता श्रीपाञ्चरात्रभगवच्छास्त्रे श्रीमतो विष्वक्सेनस्य उत्पत्तिनिरूपण-मूर्तिनिरूपण-स्थाननिरूपण-भार्यानिरूपण-मुद्रानिरूपणादिविषयाः प्रतिपादिताः अनन्तरं श्रीवैखानस-भगवच्छास्त्रे कथमेते समभिवर्णिता इति सादृश्यविवेचनसरण्या विमृश्यते ।

श्रीवैखानसभगवच्छास्त्रानुरोधेन

मूर्त्यादिनिरूपणम्

प्रागेवाभिहितं यत् श्रीमान् विष्वक्सेनः विष्णुसेनाधिप इत्यत्र न वैखानस-शास्त्रस्यापि विप्रतिपत्तिरिति । तत्राप्ययं विघ्नराजत्वेन परिकीर्तितः वैखानसैश्च निखिलेषु नैमित्तिककाम्यादिकर्मसु प्रथमतोऽस्य विधीयतेऽर्चा ।

शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् विष्वक्सेनमूर्तिरेवं समभिवर्णिता । "सिंहासनारूढः अग्निवर्णः पीताम्बरः विना श्रीवत्सं ब्रह्मसूत्रं च साक्षान्नारायण इवाखिलभूषणभूषितः द्विभुजः, पुष्पपाणिः, शक्तिदण्डभृद्वा, जयानाथः शृङ्गध्वजः, पुष्परथवाहनः, पुष्परवः विष्वक्सेन इति । अयं च पूर्वाषाढानक्षत्रोद्भूतत्वेन परिकीर्तितः[२८] ।

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२७. हेमादिपटलन्यस्ते दर्भैः षोडशभिः कृते ।
कूर्चे सेनपमावाह्य बालबिम्बस्य पीठतः ॥
See श्री प्रश्न संहिता, p. 459. L. 12.

२८. सिंहासने समासीनोऽग्निवर्णः, पीतवासाः श्रीवत्सं च ब्रह्मसूत्रं च विना हरिवत् भूषणैर्युक्तः द्विभुजः पुष्पपाणिः, शक्तिदण्डभृद्वा, जयापतिः शृङ्गकेतुः, पुष्परथवाहनः, पूर्वाषाढोद्भवः, पुष्परवो विद्यादिबीजो विष्वक्सेनो विष्वक्सेनं शान्तं हरं अमितमिति ।
See विमानार्चनाकल्पः, p. 117, L. 8. pub. T. T. D. 1926.

सर्वत्र परिवारार्चनमवश्यं कर्तव्यमिति विष्वक्सेनविहीने कर्तुः कुलोत्सादनं भविष्यतीति काश्यप आह [२९]।

केषुचिद्वैखानसप्रयोगग्रन्थेषु विष्वक्सेनस्योक्तेषु लक्षणेषु व्यत्यासो दरीदृश्यते। यथा केचिदाहुः:—

विष्वक्सेनमशेषनिर्जरमहासैन्याधिनाथं चतु-
र्बाहुं शङ्खसुदर्शने च दधतं शक्तिं च दण्डं करैः।
श्यामं रत्नकिरीटकुण्डलधरं पीताम्बरालङ्कृतं
वन्दे सूत्रवतीजयासहचरं वैवस्वदाशामुखम्॥

अन्ये केचिद्वैखानसाः स्वकीयध्यानश्लोके सुफणिमुकुटत्वं तस्याभिवर्णयन्ति। श्रीपञ्चरात्रभगवच्छास्त्रे तावत्तस्य सुमणिमुकुटत्वं सुप्रसिद्धम्। अपि च श्रीवैखानसशास्त्रान्तर्गते खिलाधिकारे श्रीमतो विष्वक्सेनस्य स्वरूपमेवमभिवर्णितम्—

किरीटेन नवतालायतं, विना ब्रह्मसूत्रं विष्णोः सर्वाभरणैः उपशोभितं, दक्षिणं पादं आकुञ्च्य वामं पादं प्रसार्य भार्यया जयया सह सुखमासीनं, अग्निप्रभम्, शक्तिदण्डपुष्पपाणिं, अर्चयेदिति एवं तत्स्वरूपम्[३०]।

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२९. सर्वत्रानपायिगणैः सार्धमाचरेत्। देवीहीने पत्न्यपत्यहानिः मुनिहीने धर्मनाशः, विष्वक्सेनहीने कुलोत्सादनम्।
See काश्यप ज्ञान काण्ड, p. 64. L. 15. Pub. T. T. D. 2960.

३०. अतः परं प्रवक्ष्यामि विष्वक्सेनस्य लक्षणम्।
नवतालायतं बेरं किरीटेन समायतम्॥
ब्रह्मसूत्रं विना सर्वाभरणैरुपशोभितम्।
आकुञ्च्य दक्षिणं पादं वामं पादं प्रसार्य च॥
जयया सुखमासीनं भार्ययाग्निसमप्रभम्।
शक्त्यायुधं दण्डपाणिं पुष्पपाणिं प्रजाहितम्॥
कृत्वार्चयेद्धनार्थी तु पूज्यमानं सदाऽमरैः।
स्थानस्यैवाभिवृद्ध्यर्थं विष्वक्सेनं प्रचक्षते॥
See खिलाधिकार, p. 167. L. 19. Pub. T. T. D, 1961.

किञ्च धनार्थिना स्वस्थानाभिवृद्ध्यर्थं विष्वक्सेनार्चना अवश्यं कार्येत्यत्र नूतनोऽयं विषयः ह्लादयति नश्चेतः । एतद्ग्रन्थाभिप्रायेण विष्णोरिवास्य ब्रह्मसूत्रं नैवास्तीति ज्ञायते । श्रीवत्सम्भ्युपगच्छति वा महर्षिरिति तावज्जायते संशयः । प्राक् विमानार्चनाकल्पे तावत् श्रीवत्समपि नैवास्ति इत्यवलोकितम् । महर्षिणा निर्दिष्टेऽपि श्रीवत्सविनाभावे गच्छता कालेन तत् पदं प्रलुप्तं स्यादिति मे मनीषा । निषिद्धे ब्रह्मसूत्रे का कथा श्रीवत्सस्य ?

स्थाननिरूपणम्

अस्य च स्थानं यथापाञ्चरात्रं अत्रापि ईशानविभागे कुबेरशङ्करयोः मध्ये इति विषयेऽस्मिन् द्वयोरपि भगवच्छास्त्रयोः साम्यमेव दरीदृश्यते ।

"वैवस्वदाशामुखम्" इति ध्यानश्लोकगतविशेषणदर्शनेनापि एवमुन्नेतुं शक्यते यत् दक्षिणाभिमुखोऽयमिति[३१] । किञ्च विमानार्चनाकल्पे भृगुसंहिताक्रियाधिकारे च सुस्पष्टमस्य दक्षिणाभिमुखत्वं निरूपितम्[३२] ।

भार्यानिरूपणम्

अंशेऽस्मिन् शास्त्रयोः द्वयोः महान् भेद इव । यत् श्रीपाञ्चरात्रे सूत्रवतीनाथत्वेन पुष्पधरानाथत्वेन च श्रुतः विष्वक्सेनः अत्र जयानाथत्वेन दृश्यते । जयाधिपत्वं चोक्तं प्रागेव मरीचिविमानार्चनाकल्पसंवादेन । केषुचन प्रयोगग्रन्थेषु तावत् वैखानसैरपि" वन्दे सूत्रवतीजयासहचरमिति सूत्रवतीजयानाथत्वं प्रपञ्चितम् । एकदेशिभिस्तावत् प्रयोगे सूत्रवतीनाथत्वमेवोच्यते विष्वक्सेनस्य । शास्त्रेऽस्मिन् अस्य सूत्रवतीनाथत्वे प्रमाणं गवेषणीयमिव प्रतिभाति ।

विषयेऽस्मिन् श्रीपाञ्चरात्रिकाणां वैखानसानाञ्च मतभेदः स्पष्टतरो भवति । श्रीपाञ्चरात्रे पुष्पधरा स्थानीया अत्र शास्त्रे जया भवति ।

एवं श्रीमतो विष्वक्सेनस्य स्वरूपस्थानभार्यादिरूपपणविषयाः द्वयोः शास्त्रयोः साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यपरिशीलनेन विमृष्टाः । श्रीवैखानसशास्त्रे मुद्राणामभावात् अत्र मुद्राविषयकः प्रस्तावः लुप्यते ।

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३१. उदक्प्राकारपार्श्वे विमानपार्श्वे वा कुबेरैशानयोर्मध्ये दक्षिणाभिमुखः ।
See विमानार्चनाकल्पः, p. 117. L. 7.

३२. शान्तसोमेशयोर्मध्ये ह्यासीनो दक्षिणामुखः ।
श्रीवत्सं ब्रह्मसूत्रञ्च विना सर्वं हरेरिव ॥
See क्रियाधिकार, p. 45. L. 13. Pub. T. T. D. 1953.

विष्वक्सेनमन्त्रः

श्रीवैखानसभगवच्छास्त्रे विष्वक्सेनमन्त्र एवमभिवर्ण्यते । "विष्वक्सेनं शान्तं हरं अमितम्" इति । अत्रापि द्वयोः शास्त्रयोः भेदः स्पष्टतर एव ।

एवं भगवच्छास्त्रयोरेतयोः श्रीविष्वक्सेनविषये स्थाननिरूपणे वर्तमानेऽपि साहश्ये, उत्पत्ति-मूर्ति-भार्या-मुद्रा-मन्त्रादिनिरूपणेषु भेदस्य वर्तमानत्वात् स एव यथाप्रतिज्ञं सूत्रप्रायेण निरूपितोऽत्र । साम्प्रतमसाम्प्रतमिति विष्वक्सेनस्य प्रभावादिकं नात्राभिवर्णितम् । एवं विषयेऽस्मिन् मतभेद एव महानिति स एव शास्त्रद्वयसंहिता-वचन-संवादेन सम्यक् प्रस्तुत इति विरम्यते ।

हेमसुन्दरवपुस्सुशोभितं श्यामसुन्दरपदार्चनारतम् ।
कामकोटिविमुखं शुचिस्मितं कामकोटियतिशेखरं भजे ॥
श्रीकामकोटीश्वरपाल्यमाना या भारतीयार्षवचःप्रपूता ।
काञ्चीपुरे साञ्चितदिव्यभावा सभा समिन्धां निगमागमोद्या ॥

[श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटिमहापीठाधिपानां श्रीश्रीश्रीमज्जयेन्द्रसरस्वतीस्वामिपादानामाध्यक्ष्ये काञ्च्यां प्रचलिते व्यासभारतागमशिल्पसदसि पठितं पत्रमिदम्]

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6. क्रियाधिकार
7. महोत्सव प्रयोग
8. नैषधकाव्यम्
9. पाद्मसंहिता
10. पराशर संहिता
11. पुरुषोत्तम संहिता
12. शेषसंहिता
13. श्री प्रश्न संहिता
14. विमानार्चनाकल्पः
15. विष्णुसंहिता
16. विष्वक्सेनसंहिता

आगमीयबेरविवेकः

उण्डेमने शङ्करभट्टः

तिरुपति

[दक्षिणापथे प्रथितप्रचारयोः वैखानस-पञ्चरात्रागमयोः प्रस्तूयमानो बेरविचारो दुरवगाहो दरीदृश्यते । वैखानसैः ध्रुवार्चन- ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चनपदयुगेन, पाञ्च-रात्रिकैरेकबेरविधि-बहुबेरविधिपदद्वयेन चाभिप्रेयमाणो विचारो न सर्वसुलभः। तद्वदालयार्चने वैखानसानां पाञ्चरात्रिणां चाभिमतानि बेराणि कियन्ति ? कानि ? तेषां परस्परं किंरूपः संबन्धः ? बेरविशेषाणां च तेषां विनियोगः कुत्र ?- इत्येव-मादयो विचाराश्च नानायासगम्याः । तानेतान् आगमीयान् मुख्यानंशान् वैखानस--पाञ्चरात्रग्रन्थपरिशीलनपुरःसरं प्रस्तोतुमेतल्लेखनोद्योगः ।]

१.० प्रस्तावना

आध्यात्मिकैस्तत्त्वोपदेशैः प्रथितयशसि भारतवर्षे विग्रहाराधनं चिराय रूढमूलं प्रचलति । विश्वव्यापी भगवान् भक्तैः प्रतिष्ठापिते बिम्बे सादरं निवसति, तद्द्वारा मन्दमतीनामपि आध्यात्मिकोन्नतिसाधने प्रेरको भवतीति च भारतीया विश्वसन्ति । तमेतं विश्वासम् आगमग्रन्थाः परिपोषयन्ति ।

यच्च किंचिज्जगत् सर्वं दृश्यते श्रूयतेऽपि वा ।
अन्तर्बहिश्च तत् सर्वं व्याप्य नारायणः स्थितः ॥

[तै. आ. १०. ११. ५]

इति श्रुतिवाक्येन संस्तूयमानः सर्वगतो भगवान् आगमोक्तविधानेन देवालये प्रतिष्ठापिते बिम्बे समागत्यावतिष्ठते, भक्तैः सश्रद्धं समर्प्यमाणां पूजां स्वीकरोति, प्रपन्नानामार्तिनाशनपूर्वकं योगक्षेमं वहति, आलये क्रियमाणा भगवद्बिम्बप्रतिष्ठा मन्दबुद्धीनां च विश्वासमावहति इति चागमग्रन्था [सा. VI. 22; ई.IV. 55,6; सा. xxiv: 165-7; विश्वा xiv 1-3] उपदिशन्ति ।

१.१. बेरपूजनम्

विग्रहाराधनमेतद् बेरपूजनपदेन आगमग्रन्थेषु निर्दिश्यते । वैखानस-पञ्चरात्रा-त्मना द्विविधे वैष्णवागमे मानसार्चन-होमार्चन-बेरार्चनभेदेन त्रिविधानां [खि. I.16]

भगवदर्चनानां बेरार्चनमेव प्रशस्यतममिति [क्रि. I. 12-6], अमूर्तसमूर्तार्चनयोः समूर्तार्चनं श्रेयानिति [का. I. P. 3; विमा. II. P. 5] चोपवर्णयन्ति ग्रन्थाः। तदित्थं संस्तूयमाने बेरार्चने समूर्तार्चने वा वैखानसैः पाञ्चरात्रिकैश्च उपदिश्यमानं बेरप्रपञ्चमधिकृत्यात्रेषत् प्रस्तूयते।

१.२. बेरशब्दार्थः

संस्कृतसाहित्ये [Classical Sanskrit Literature] बेरशब्दः कश्चन शरीरपर्यायवाचकः संदृश्यते। क्रिस्तात् परं त्रयोदशशतकगतेन कान्यकुब्जेश्वरेण ताम्बूलद्वयेन आसनेन च संमानितेन श्रीहर्ष-महाकविना स्वीये नैषधीयचरितमहाकाव्ये दमयन्तीस्वयंवरे कुबेरानागमनकारणमुत्प्रेक्षमाणेन।

जातौ न वित्ते न गुणे न कामः
सौन्दर्य एव प्रवणः स वामः।
स्वच्छस्वशैलेक्षितकुत्सबेर-
स्तां प्रत्यगान्नस्त्रितमां कुबेरः॥

[X.13]

इत्यत्र प्रयुक्तं स्वच्छस्वशैलेक्षितकुत्सबेरपदं जीवातुकारो मल्लिनाथः—

"स्वच्छे स्फटिकमयत्वात् बिम्बग्राहिणि स्वशैले कैलासे ईक्षिता कुत्सा गर्हा यस्य तद् बेरं शरीरं यस्य सः सम्यगवगतकौरूप्य इत्यर्थः इति व्याचष्टे। नैषधीयप्रकाशकारो नारायणस्तु–

"स्वच्छे निर्मले स्वशैले कैलासे ईक्षितं कुत्सं बेरं वपुः नेत्रं वा येन एवम्भूतः कुबेरः" इति व्याकरोति। कुबेरशब्दार्थनिर्देशावसरे शब्दकल्पद्रुमकारः--

"कुत्सितं बेरं शरीरं यस्य (पिङ्गलनेत्रत्वात् तथात्वम्) यक्षराजः"

इति कथयित्वा

कुत्सायां क्विवतिशब्दोऽयं शरीरं बेरमुच्यते।
कुबेरः कुशरीरत्वात् नाम्ना तेनैव सोऽङ्कितः॥

इत्येनं वायुपुराणान्तर्गतं श्लोकमुद्धरति [शब्द. द्वि. P. 144]। तथा च बेरशब्दस्यास्य मल्लिनाथव्याख्यानमुपपन्नं भासते। नेत्रगतोऽपि दोषः कृत्स्नस्य शरीरस्य कौरूप्यमुपकल्पयत्येव।

स्याद्वपुः सुन्दरमपि श्वित्रेणैकेन दुर्भगम्।

[काव्या. I.7]

इति किल आलंकारिकाणां प्रचलति वाचोयुक्तिः। तदित्थं शरीरवाचकमेतद् बेरपदं प्रथमं शरीरमवगमय्य ततस्तत्पर्यायवाचकेन विग्रहपदेनाभिधीयमानं बिम्बं बोधयति। तथा च आगमिकानां बेरपदप्रयोगे नोपदृश्यते काचिद्विलक्षणता।

१. ३.० बेरप्रतिष्ठार्चनविधिविवेकः

आगमग्रन्थेषु प्रायेण एकबेरं, बहुबेरं, पञ्चबेरं, षड्बेरमित्यादौ बेरविचारः प्रस्तूयते। बेराश्रितकार्यविशेषपराण्येतानि पदानि आगमीयपारिभाषिकपदत्वेन [Technical Vocables of the Āgama Canonical Literature] परिगण्यन्ते। एतान्यधिकृत्यात्र किंचिद् विचार्यते।

वैखानससंप्रदाये बिम्बप्रतिष्ठार्चनयोः ध्रुव-ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तभेदेन, पाञ्चरात्र-संप्रदाये प्रतिष्ठाराधनयोरेकबेर-बहुबेरविधि-(स्थावर-अस्थावरार्चन)भेदेन चेति द्वैविध्य-मुपदिश्यते। तत्र वैखानसैः ध्रुवार्चनपदेन पाञ्चरात्रिकैरेकबेरविधिपदेन (स्थावरार्चन-पदेन) च व्यवह्रियमाणो विचारो मिथः संवादमावहति; ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चनपदेन बहुबेरविधिपदेन (अस्थावरार्चनपदेन) चोपदिश्यमानो विचारस्त्वंशतः संवादम् अंशतः पुनर्विवादं चोपदर्शयति।

१. ३. १ ध्रुवार्चनम् (एकबेरविधिः, स्थावरार्चना)

ध्रुवार्चनपदमेकबेरविधिपदं स्थावरार्चनापदं वा प्रतिष्ठाप्रकरणे दृष्टिपथमा-याति। विधिवन्निर्मितानां बिम्बानां देवालये प्रतिष्ठापनीयानां प्रतिष्ठास्थानं विवेचय-द्भिरागमिकैरयं विचार उपक्रम्यते। ध्रुवार्चने, एकबेरविधौ, स्थावरार्चनायां वा प्रायो ब्रह्मस्थाने ध्रुवबेरप्रतिष्ठा विधीयते; क्वचिदन्यत्रापि (दैवमानुषयोश्च) सा अनुमन्यते [का. LIV. p. 95; क्रि. V. p. 39; विमा. XV. p.72; पाद्म (क्रि.) XIII. 45; अनि. XII. II; कपि. XII. 100; नार. XIII. 337; सन. ब्र. VI. 47; op. cit IX. 1, 2; विश्वा. XIV. 135.]। एवं ध्रुवबेरप्रतिष्ठायां, ध्रुवबेर एवार्चनं कार्यं भवति। तथा चात्रार्चनार्थं कौतुकापेक्षा न संभवति। मरीचिना हि ध्रुवार्चने ध्रुवबेर एव ध्रुवकौतुकार्चनोक्तः पुष्पन्यासो विधीयते [विमा. XLI. P. 287] आवाहनविसर्गौ निषिध्येते। पाञ्चरात्रिभिस्तु, एकबेरविधिं स्थावरार्चनां वा निर्दिशद्भिः ध्रुवबेरस्य ब्रह्मस्थाने प्रतिष्ठापनेऽपि कौतुकस्नपनार्चं विना बहुबेरविध्युक्तानि बिम्बा-

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न्तराणि नित्यार्चने विधीयन्ते [ई. XVII. 250, 1 ; पार. XV. 57, 8; पाद्म op. cit. XIX. 4; कपि. op. cit. 103, 4; नार. op. cit 339, 40; वि. ति. VI. 440; श्री प्र. XIV. 4, 5] । सति विभवे तत्तत्कर्मविशेषार्थं बिम्बानि कल्पनीयानीत्युपदिश्यते [ई. op. cit-240, 260, 1] तदित्थं ब्राह्मस्थाने प्रतिष्ठिते ध्रुवबेरे अर्च्यमाने ध्रुवार्चनमिति, एकबेरार्चनमिति, स्थावरार्चनमिति वा कीर्त्यते । ध्रुवार्चने स्थानकासनयोः, एकबेरविधौ स्थानकमात्रस्य, स्थावरार्चनायां स्थानकासनयोर्वा ध्रुवबेरावस्थानयोरङ्गीकारमभ्युपगच्छन्ति आगमिकाः [का. loc. cit.; नार op. cit. 336; सन. op. cit. IX. 3] । एकबेरविधौ परिवारकल्पनापेक्षा नोपदृश्यते [op. cit. VI. 49; op. cit. IX. 4] । वैखानसानां ध्रुवार्चनस्य केवलामुष्मिकफलमिव [का. loc. cit.; क्रि. IX, II] पाञ्चरात्रिणामेकबेरविधेः स्थावरार्चनाया वा न किंचिद् विशिष्टं फलमुपदिश्यते । तदित्थं ब्राह्मस्थाने प्रतिष्ठितस्य ध्रुवबेरस्यार्चनं ध्रुवार्चनमिति, एकबेरविधिरिति, स्थावरार्चनेति वा परिगण्यते । तथा चैकबेर–विधिगतस्य, एकपदस्य एकत्वविशिष्टा संख्या नार्थः, अपि तु मुख्य इत्यर्थ इत्यभ्युपगन्तव्यं भवति । तदनुरोधेन वैखानसानां पाञ्चरात्रिणां च मतैक्यं सिध्यति । ध्रुवार्चने, एकबेरार्चने, स्थावरार्चने वा कौतुकस्नपनबेरकार्यं पूजनादिकं ध्रुवबेर एव कार्यमित्येतदुभयसंमतं भासते [का. loc. cit. ; नार. op. cit. 339, 40; विश्वा. XYIII. 120; वि. ति. loc. cit- ; श्रीप्र- loc- cit.] ।

१. ३. २. ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चनम् (बहुबेरार्चनम्, अस्थावरार्चनम्)

गर्भगृहे ब्राह्मभागमपहाय दैवादिभागान्तरेषु ध्रुवबेरप्रतिष्ठापने ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चनं, बहुबेरार्चनम्, अस्थावरार्चनं च संपद्यते । अत्र ब्रह्मभागे कौतुकप्रतिष्ठा विधीयते । ब्रह्मभागप्रतिष्ठिते तस्मिन् कौतुके नित्यार्चनादीनि कार्याण्युपदिश्यन्ते [नार. op. cit. 341, 3, 4; सन, op. cit. VI 48] । अनेन ब्राह्मभागगत एव बिम्बे अर्चनमागमसंमतमिति वक्तुं शक्यते । एकबेरविधौ ब्राह्मभागगतस्य ध्रुवबेरस्येव बहुबेरविधौ ब्राह्मभागगतस्य कौतुकस्यार्चनं हि प्रायेण आगमग्रन्थैरुपदिश्यते । बहुबेरविधिपदं ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चनपर्यायत्वेन,अस्थावरार्चनपर्यायत्वेन वा प्रयुज्यमानं न योगरूढम्; किं तु रूढमित्येवोचितं वक्तुम् । एकभिन्नं बहु–इत्यनया उपपत्त्या बहुबेरपदस्य रूढिरुचितेति वक्तव्यं भवति । बहूनि बेराणि ध्रुवार्चने, एकबेरार्चने स्थावरार्चने वा संभवन्त्येव ।

ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चने, बहुबेरार्चने, अस्थावरार्चने वा विनियोज्यानां बेराणां

संख्या वैखानसपाञ्चरात्रयोर्न समाना । वैखानसानुरोधेन बेराणि पञ्च; पाञ्चरात्रानुरोधेन षड्बेराणि; पञ्चबेरेषु ध्रुवबेरस्याप्यन्तर्भावः, षड्बेरेषु ध्रुवबेरस्यानन्तर्भावः –इत्युपदृश्यते बेरपरिगणने मतभेदः ।

एकस्मिन् कर्मणि अग्निपञ्चकवद्, एकस्मिन् देहे वायुपञ्चकवदाहोस्विद् भूतपञ्चकवद् एकस्मिन् विमाने ध्रुव–कौतुक–उत्सव–स्नपन–बलिबेराणां पञ्चानां कल्पनमिति युक्तिमुपपादयन्ति वैखानसाः [क्रि. op. cit. 7, 8; अर्च- p. 61] । बेरपञ्चकोपेतो देवालयः कमलालयत्वेन रूप्यते वैखानसैः । तथा हि–

विमानं जलं, ध्रुवबिम्बं कन्दः, संबन्धकूर्चो नालः, कौतुकबिम्बं पुष्पं, बलि–उत्सव–स्नपन–बेराणि पत्राणि–इत्येवं जल–कन्द–नाल–पुष्प–पत्राणां समावेशस्थानं देवालयः कमलालय इति प्रचलति तेषां वाचोयुक्तिः [अर्च. id.] ।

क्वचित्तु, पञ्चबेरस्थाने ध्रुव–कौतुक–उत्सव–स्नपनबेराणि, ध्रुवार्चा–उत्सव-बलि–बेराणि वा कल्प्यन्ते । अशक्तौ कौतुक–उत्सवबेरे, कौतुकमात्रं वा ध्रुवबेरेण सह प्रतिष्ठाप्यते । त्रयाणां बेराणां कल्पनमग्नित्रयकल्पने, एकस्य बेरस्य कल्पनमौपासनाग्निकल्पनेन सभ्याग्निकल्पनेन च प्रत्येकमुपमीयते [का. loc.cit; क्रि. op. cit- 9, 10; खि. XX. 3, 4; अर्च. loc. cit.] एवं पञ्चबेरकल्पनप्रकारो वैखानसैरुपपाद्यते ।

पाञ्चरात्रिभिस्तु, वैखानसानां पञ्चबेरस्थाने षड्बेराणि निर्दिश्यन्ते । तन्मते ध्रुवबेरातिरिक्ततया कर्मार्चा–उत्सवार्चा–बल्यर्चा–तीर्थार्चा–स्नपनार्चा–शयनार्चेति षड् बेराणीति प्रथमः पक्षः [ई. op. cit. 238, 9; पाद्म. op. cit. 1, 2; अनि. op. cit. 19, 20; वि. ति. op cit. 438; श्रीप्र. op. cit 2] । कर्मार्चा–बल्यर्चा–यात्रार्चा–कृत्रिमालयार्चा–यागार्चा–स्नानार्चा चेति षड्बेराणीति द्वितीयः पक्षः [कपि. XI. 57-60; op cit. XII. 104, 5; विश्वा. XXII. 36-9] द्वितीयपक्षे यात्रार्चापदेन यागार्चापदेन च निर्दिश्यमानं बेरं क्रमेण तीर्थार्चापदेन उत्सवार्चापदेन च निर्दिश्यमानेन प्रथमपक्षानुसारिणा बेरेणाभिन्नं, केवलं शब्दभेदो न वस्तुभेद इति यावत् । उत्सवबेरं क्वचिन्मखकौतुकपदेनापि पाञ्चरात्रिकैरभिधीयते[पाद्म op. cit. XXVIII. 47] । तदेभिः षड्भिर्बेरैः सहित आलयप्रतिष्ठार्चनविधिः बहुबेरविधिरित्याहुः पाञ्चरात्रिणः [अनि. op. cit. 15] । बहुबेरविधौ बहूनां बेराणामर्चनमानुषङ्गिकम्; कौतुकार्चनं परं प्रधानम् । स्नपनबेरादीनामभावेऽपि बहुबेरविधित्वं न हीयते, स्नपनादिबेरान्तराभावे तत्कार्याणां स्नपनादीनां कौतुक एव विधानात् ।

बहुबेरविधौ षट्सु बेरेष्वर्चनमुत्तमं, त्रिषु बेरेष्वर्चनं मध्यमम्, एकस्मिन् बेरेऽर्चनमधममिति अर्चनं बेरसंख्यानुरोधेन त्रिविधं संपद्यते [ई. op. cit. 240. 1; पाद्म. op. cit. XIX. 2, 3; अनि. op. cit. 20, 1; वि. ति. op. cit. 439; श्री प्र. op. cit. 3, 4]। उत्तमार्चने पूर्वोक्तानि षड्बेराणि, मध्यमार्चने कर्मार्चा–उत्सवार्चा–स्नपनार्चा संज्ञकानि त्रीणि बेराणि, अधमार्चने कौतुकमात्रमित्येवमर्चनीयानां बेराणां व्यवस्था अवगन्तव्या।

तदित्थं वैखानसैः पाञ्चरात्रिकैश्च निर्दिश्यमानौ ध्रुवार्चनैकबेरविधी, ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चनबहुबेर–(अस्थावरार्चन) विधी च आलयेषु प्रतिष्ठाप्यानां बेराणां संख्यामनुरुध्य न प्रवृत्तौ, किंतु, ध्रुवबेरप्रतिष्ठास्थानानुरोधेन अर्चनीयबिम्बस्थानानुरोधेन वा प्रवृत्तावित्यभ्युपगन्तव्यं भवति। अनेन एकबेरविधानानुसारिषु कतिपुचिद् देवालयेषु दरीदृश्यमानानाम् उत्सवबेरादिबेरान्तराणामनौचित्यं निरस्यते।

१.४.०. बेरप्रपञ्चः

एवमागमिकैः ध्रुवार्चनध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चनयोः, एकबेरबहुबेरार्चनयोः, स्थावरास्थावरार्चनयोर्वा विधीयमानानां ध्रुवादीनां बेराणां प्रपञ्चमाधिकृत्याग्रे समासेन किंचित् प्रस्तूयते।

१.४.१. ध्रुवबेरम्

भगवद्रूपमचल-चलभेदेन द्विविधम्। तयोराद्यं सर्वगं निष्कलमपोहलक्षणं व्योमाभं ब्रह्मादिभिरलक्ष्यम्। एतदाराधनं निरालम्बम्। एतत्स्थानीयं ध्रुवबेरम्। तस्माद् ध्रुवबेरमचलं भवति [का. L. V. p. 96; क्रि. op. cit. 11]। ध्रुवबेरस्यास्य ध्रुवबिम्ब-मूलबिम्ब-मूलबेर-मूलार्चा-ध्रुव-स्थावरार्चाप्रभृतिभिः संज्ञान्तरैर्व्यवहार आगमग्रन्थेषु यथाप्रदेशमुपदृश्यते। ध्रुवबेरेऽस्मिन् प्रतिष्ठापितो भगवान् सर्वदा संनिहितो भवतीत्यागमिकानां सिद्धान्तः। तथा च नित्यार्चनादिषु कार्यकलापेषु कर्मार्चादिबेरान्तरेषु यथावकाशं दीपाद्दीपवद् भगवानित आवाह्यते, तत्तत्कार्यान्ते पुनरत्रैव पुनः संयोज्यते। अत एवालयेषु प्रतिष्ठितानां सर्वेषां बिम्बानां ध्रुवबेरं प्राधान्यमावहति।

ध्रुवबेरमेतत् शिला-दारु-मृत्-लोह-रत्नादिभिर्द्रव्यैर्निर्मीयते [प्र vii. 12,3; विमा. xv. p.69; ई. op. cit. 249, 51; पार loc.cit.; पाद्म op. cit. xi. 2; कपि. op. cit. 1, 2; नार. op. cit. 338, 42; श्रीप्र. xii. 5; सन. op. cit.

47; op. cit vii. 1, 2] । ध्रुवार्चने, एकबेरविधौ, स्थावरार्चनायां वा एतदेव बिम्बमर्च्यते । अन्यत्र तु, इतो भगवान् कौतुके आवाह्यते अर्च्यते च [क्रि. op. cit. 13] । बहुबेरविधौ ध्रुवबेरेऽस्मिन् स्नानप्लोतानुलेपनैर्विना अर्चनं वैखानसैर्विधीयते [क्रि. op. cit. 11, 5; op cit. x. ४०, १] । पाञ्चरात्रिकैः पुनः कौतुके क्रियमाणं क्रियाजातं ध्रुवबेरादावपि उपदिश्यते [पाद्म (च) iii. 178,9; विश्वा. x. 180, 1] । ध्रुवार्चने एकबेरविधौ वा ध्रुवबेरे स्नपनमपि वैखानसैरिव पाञ्चरात्रिकैश्च विधीयते [विमा. XL1. p 287; नार. op cit. 339, 40; विश्वा. xviii 120; वि. ति. op: cit 440; श्रीप्र- xiv. 4,5] । ध्रुवबेरस्यास्य प्रतिष्ठा एकबेरविधौ ब्राह्मस्थाने [का. LIV. p. 95; क्रि. v. p. 39, विमा. xv. p.72; पाद्म (क्रि) xiii. 45; अत्रि op.cit. 11; कपि xii. 100; नार op cit 337; सन op. cit vi 47 op. cit ix 1, 2; विश्वा xiv. 135] बहुबेरविधौ अवस्थानानुरोधेन दैविकादिस्थानान्तरेषु चोपदिश्यते [का liii.- p 93,4; खि viii. 121,2; पाद्म op. cit. 45, 6] । एकबेरविधौ ध्रुवबेरस्य स्थानक-आसनसंज्ञकमवस्थानद्वयम्, बहुबेरविधौतु, स्थानक-आसन-शयन-यानगसंज्ञकमवस्थानचतुष्कं च विधीयते [का LIV. p. 95; नार op. cit 336; सन. op. cit 3] । ध्रुवबेरलक्षणमागमग्रन्थेषु सविस्तरमुपवर्ण्यते । तस्यायं सारः—

ध्रुवबेरं मूलतः चित्र-चित्रार्ध-चित्राभासभेदेन [विमा. op. cit. p. 70; स. viii. 11], चित्र-अर्धचित्र-चित्राभासभेदेन [पाद्म. op. cit xix. 46, 7; अत्रि. op cit. 8; कपि. xi. 67, 8; नार. op. cit. 67, 8; सन. op. cit.- vii. 36,7] चित्र-अचित्र-चित्राभासभेदेन [पर. xxiii. 21–4], पूर्णअर्धचित्र-हीनचित्रभेदेन [श्रीप्र. xi. 6,7] वा त्रिविधं भवति ।

१.४.१.१. चित्रम् (पूर्णम्)

मान-प्रमाण-उन्मान-परिमाण-उपमान-लम्बमानसंज्ञकमानषटकोपेतं चित्रमिति [विमा. loc.cit.], संदृश्यसर्वाङ्गं चित्रमिति [सं. op. cit. 12], समन्तात् संदृश्यमानावयवं चित्रमिति [पाद्म. op. cit. 47; अत्रि. loc. cit.], उन्मान-प्रमाण (?)-परिमाणसंज्ञकमान त्रयोपेतं समन्तात् संदृश्यावयवं च चित्रमिति [नार. op. cit.68,9; पर. op. cit. 21, 2; सन. op. cit. 37,8] पूर्वपश्चिमयोरहीनं पूर्णमिति [श्रीप्र. op. cit. 6] च चित्रलक्षणं निर्दिशन्त्यागमिकाः । चित्रं बेरमुत्तमम्, तन्मृदा, लोहेन, शिलया, दारुणा वा कल्पयेत्, तदर्चव-

मैहिकामुष्मिकफलप्रदमिति च चित्रमधिकृत्य तेऽभिप्रयन्ति [स. op. cit. 13; पाद्म. op, cit. 50; सन. op. cit. 40; विमा. loc. cit.] ।

१.४.१.२. चित्रार्धम् (अर्धचित्रम्, अचित्रम्)

नाहार्धसंदर्शनं बिम्बमर्धचित्रमिति [विमा. id.], अर्धदृश्यसर्वावयवं बिम्बमर्धचित्रमिति [स. op. cit. 12], संदृश्यपुरोभागमात्रैर्हस्ताद्यवयवैर्युक्तं बिम्बमर्धचित्रमिति [पाद्म. op. cit. 48; अनि. loc. cit.; श्रीप्र op. cit. 6,7], परिमाणार्धनिष्पन्नं बिम्बमचित्रमिति [पर. op. cit. 22], अदृश्यपृष्ठभागं मानप्रमाणोपेतं च बिम्बमर्धचित्रमिति [नार. op. cit. 69, 70; सन. op. cit. 38,9] च चित्रार्धस्य, अर्धचित्रस्य, अचित्रस्य वा बिम्बस्य लक्षणमुच्यते । बिम्बमेतन्मध्यममिति [स. op. cit. 13; पाद्म. op. cit. 50; सन. op. cit. 40], शिलया दारुणा वा कल्पनीयमिति [विमा. loc. cit; पर. op. cit. 25], आमुष्मिकफलमात्रप्रदमिति [विमा. loc. cit.] चोपवर्ण्यते ।

१.४.१.३. चित्राभासम् (हीनचित्रम्)

नाहोन्नतिहीनं पटकुड्यादिषु लिखितं बिम्बं चित्राभासमिति [विमा. ID.], कुड्यादिषु सितादिभिर्वर्णैर्लिखितं बिम्बं चित्राभासमिति [स. loc. cit.], मानप्रमाणोपेतं पटादिलिखितं बिम्बं चित्राभासमिति [पाद्म. op. cit. 49; अनि. op.- cit. 9; कपि. op. cit. 6], पटादिलिखितं हीनं चित्रमिति च चित्राभासस्य हीनचित्रस्य वा लक्षणमुपदिश्यते [नार. op. cit. 70; पर. op. cit. 23,4; सन.- op. cit. 39, 40; श्रीप्र. op. cit, 7] । वैखानसग्रन्थेषु चित्राभासस्यास्य अचलचलभेदेन द्वैविध्यमुपवर्ण्यते; भित्त्यादौ लिखितमचलमिति, पटे लिखितं चलमिति च तल्लक्षणमुच्यते; ध्रुवाचने चित्राभासमेतन्निषिध्यते च [विमा. loc. cit.] । पाञ्चरात्रग्रन्थेषु तु, चित्र-अर्धचित्र-चित्राभासानां त्रयाणामेषां पूर्वालाभे यथोत्तरं स्थापयेदित्युपदिश्यते [पाद्म. op. cit. 51] । चित्राभासमेतदधममिति उभयत्रापि निर्दिश्यते [स. op. cit. 14; पाद्म. op. cit. 50; op. cit. 41] । अधमस्यास्य ऐहिकफलमात्रप्रदस्य अर्चनं वैखानसैर्निषिध्यते; दानहोमजपेषु भावनार्थमस्योपदेश इति चास्य विनियोगः कीर्त्यते [विमा. loc. cit.; स. loc. cit.] ।

१. ४. १. ४ चित्रादीनां प्रभेदाः

चित्रादिभेदेन त्रिविधानि ध्रुवबेराणि पुनरवस्थानानुरोधेन प्रत्येकं स्थानक-

आसन–शयनात्मना त्रैविध्यं भजन्ति [क्रि. op, cit: 74; विमाः XIX. p. 91]। यानगसंज्ञकं चतुर्थमपि ध्रुवबेरभेदमाहुर्वैखानसाः [विमा. XXII. p. 149]। स्थानकादित्रयं पुनः प्रत्येकं भोग–योग–वीर–आभिचारिकभेदेन चतुर्विधत्वमावहति । इत्थं द्वादशानामेषां स्थानकमाभिचारिकं विना सर्वाण्यपि पुनः प्रत्येकमुत्तम–मध्यम–अधमात्मना त्रैविध्यमाप्नुवन्ति । एष मरीचिपक्षः [विमा. XIX, p. 91; op· cit. p. 91-101]।

स्थानकं योग–भोग–विरह–वीरात्मना, आसनं योग–सुख–भोग–वीरात्मना, शयनं योग–भोग–वीरात्मना च भवतीति स्थानकादीनां प्रभेदे काश्यपमतम् [का. LIII. p. 93]।

आसन–शयन–स्थानकानि प्रत्येकं योग–भोग–वीर–विरहभेदेन चतुर्विधत्वमावहन्तीति प्रथमः पक्षः [क्रि· op. cit. 75]; स्थानक–आसन–शयनानि प्रत्येकं योग–भोग–वीरात्मना त्रिविधानि भवन्तीति द्वितीयः पक्षः[खि. XII. 1 22, 42]; स्थानकासने योग–भोग सृष्टि–संहारभेदेन प्रत्येकं चातुर्विध्यं भजत इति, शयनं तु, योगेन विना त्रैविध्यं प्राग्वद्वहतीति च तृतीयः पक्षः [प्र. IX. 17, 8, 21, 8]; स्थानकशयने प्रत्येकं योग–भोग–वीर–विरहात्मना चतुर्विधे इति, आसनं योग–भोग–वीरात्मना त्रिविधमिति; स्थानकभेदा योगादयः प्रत्येकम् उत्तम·मध्यम–अधमात्मना त्रिविधा इतिः आसनभेदेषु योगं श्रेष्ठ–मध्यम–अधमात्मना, भोगम् उत्तम-मध्यम–अधमात्मना च त्रिधेति; शयनभेदेषु योगम् उत्तम–मध्यम–अधमात्मना, भोगं श्रेष्ठ–मध्यम–कन्यसात्मना, वीरम् उत्तम–मध्यम–अधमात्मना च त्रिविधमिति च चतुर्थः पक्षः [य. XV. 1–44, XVI. 1–23]– इत्येवं पक्षचतुष्कानुरोधेन स्थानकादयो बेरप्रभेदाः पुनरपि भिन्ना भवन्तीति भृगुग्रन्थेभ्योऽवगम्यते । एतद्वैखानसमतम् ।

पाञ्चरात्रिणां मतं त्वन्यथा भवति । तथा हि, चित्र–अर्धचित्र–चित्राभासानि प्रत्येकं स्थित–आसन–यानग–शयानभेदेन चातुर्विध्यम्, एषां च स्थित–आसीन–यानगानि प्रत्येकं योगभोगभेदेन द्वैविध्यं वहन्ति । शयानं तु योग–भोग–सृष्टि—संहारात्मना चातुर्विध्यमावहतीति, तान्येतानि योगादीनि प्रत्येकं पुनरपि उत्तम-मध्यम-अधमभेदेन त्रैविध्यं भजन्तीति च प्रथमः पक्षः [पाद्म. op. cit. xv. 1—3; पार. op. cit. 56, 66; नार· loc. cit.]। चित्रादित्रयं प्रत्येकम् आसीन-शयन-स्थित-यानग-त्रिविक्रम-विश्वरूपभेदेन षोढा भवतीति [वि. ति. op. cit. 388,9; श्रीप्र. xii. 5]; शयानं चैषां भोग-योग-संहार-सृष्ट्यात्मना, उद्योग-योग-भोग-

सृष्टि-संहारात्मना वा भवितुमर्हतीति च पक्षान्तरम् [वि. ति. op. cit. 412, 3; श्रीप्र. op. cit. 28, 9]।

प्रभेदानामेषां लक्षणादिकं वैखानसेषु पाञ्चरात्रेषु च ग्रन्थेषु यथावकाशमुपवर्ण्यते [विमा. loc. cit.; य. loc cit; पाद्म. op. cit. 5-101]। ध्रुवबेर-प्रभेदाः योगादयः योगादिफलविशेषकामैः समुपकल्प्येरन् इत्याहुर्वैखानसाः [का.- op. cit. p. 95; विमा. xix. p. 91]। स एष आगमीय ध्रुवबेरप्रपञ्चः।

१.४.२. कौतुकम्

ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चने, बहुबेरविधौ, अस्थावरार्चने वा बाह्यभागे प्रतिष्ठापितं बिम्बं [क्रि. op. cit. p. 39; op. cit. ix. 4; खि. xx. 5; प्र xii. 93; स. op. cit 28; पाद्म. op. cit. xxviii. 47; नार. op. cit. 341, 3,4] कौतुकमिति कीर्त्यते। अर्चा-कौतुक-प्राण-वर-कर्मार्चा-कर्मबेर-कर्मबिम्बप्रभृतिभिः संज्ञाविशेषैः कौतुकस्यास्य व्यवहारः आगमग्रन्थेषु संदृश्यते। जलपुष्पादिभिरर्च्यत्वादर्चेति, सर्वमङ्गलकारित्वात् कौतुकमिति, सर्वेषां प्राणभूतत्वात् प्राण इति, श्रीभूम्योर्वरत्वाद् वर इति चात्र व्युत्पत्तिरुपदृश्यते [स. xxiv. 1–3]।

भगवतः सालम्बार्चनोपकरणमेतत् कौतुकं सकलरूपं सत् चलमिति निर्दिश्यते वैखानसैः [का. LV.p 96]। नित्यार्चने ध्रुवबेराद् भगवानत्रावाह्यते, विविधोपचारैरर्च्यते च [क्रि. ix. 13; खि. op. cit. 7; विश्वा. x. 103, 4; वि. ति.- iii. 421]। ध्रुवार्चने, एकबेरविधौ, स्थावरार्चायां वा कौतुकस्य प्रसक्त्यभावाद् ध्रुवबेरमेवार्च्यते। कौतुकेऽत्रावाहितो भगवान् पूजान्ते ध्रुवबेरे प्रतिनिवर्त्यते। नित्यार्चा, अधिकार्चा, विशेषार्चेत्यर्चनत्रयमपि कौतुक एव विधीयते [क्रि. op. cit. 16]। स्नपनाद्यर्थकानां बिम्बान्तराणामभावे तत्र कार्याणि स्नपनादीन्यपि कौतुके अतिदिश्यन्ते [क्रि. op. cit. 22; खि. op. cit. 15; स. XL. 5]। ध्रुवबेरावस्थानमनुरुध्य स्थानकमासनं यानकं वा अवस्थानं कौतुकस्योपदिश्यते। किं तु, कौतुकस्यास्य शयनावस्थानं न कुत्रचिद् विधीयते [का. LIV. p. 96; य. xvii. 3; विमा. xxii. p. 149; पाद्म. op. cit. xix. 14, 5; कपि. op. cit. 57; वि. ति. vi. 444, 5; श्रीप्र. xiv. 12]। दार्वादिभिर्द्रव्यैरेतन्निर्मीयते [का.- LVI. p. 97; विमा. op. cit. p. 148; स. xxiv. 4, 5]। वैखानसपाञ्चरात्रिकाभ्यामुभाभ्यामपि कौतुकमेतद् बहुबेरविधौ अनिवार्यमिति परगण्यते।

१.४.३. उत्सवबेरम्

कौतुकस्य उत्तरे दक्षिणे वा पार्श्वे पूज्यमानं बेरमुत्सवबेरमित्युच्यते [क्रि op. cit. 5. खि. op. cit, प्र. op. cit. 95; स. XL. 2; पाद्म. op.cit. XXVIII. 47.] उत्सवसंबन्धिन्यः सर्वाः क्रियाः, काम्यकर्माणि, उत्सवाङ्गस्नपनं, स्नपनबेराभावे स्नपनबेरे कार्यं स्नपनं चास्मिन् बेरे विधीयते [क्रि. op. cit. 18, 20, 1; खि. op. cit. 7, 15]। एतदवस्थाने वैखानसानां पाञ्चरात्रिणां च मतभेदो दृश्यते। ध्रुवे स्थितेऽपि औत्सवमासीनमिति [विमा. op. cit. p. 149], सर्वत्रोत्सवबेरं स्थितमेवेति [का. lic. p.96; य. op. cit. 4] च द्विधा वैखानसैः, औत्सवबेरं सर्वत्र स्थितमेवेति पाञ्चरात्रिभिश्च [पाद्म. op. cit. XIX. 16; वि.ति.op.cit.445; श्रीप्र.op. cit 13] अभिप्रेयते। औत्सवबेरं-क्वचिद्यागबेरपदेन [कपि. op. cit. 59, XII. 104; विश्वा. XXII.39], क्वचिन्मखकौतुकपदेन [पाद्म. op. cit. XXVIII. 47] च पाञ्चरात्रिकैर्व्यवह्रियते। उत्सवभ्रमणोपयोगित्वादस्य बेरस्य उत्सवबेरसंज्ञा प्रचलति। बेरमेतत् दारुपाषाणरत्नैर्न कल्पनीयमित्युच्यते वैखानसैः [का. LIV. p. 97· विमा. Loc. cit.]।

१.४.४. स्नपनबेरम्

स्नपनबेरमेतत् कौतुकस्य दक्षिणे उत्तरे वा पार्श्वे स्थाप्यते [क्रि. loc.cit.; खि. op cit. 6; प्र. op. cit. 96; पाद्म. Loc. cit.]। शान्तिकं, नैमित्तिकम्, उत्सवाङ्गं च स्नपनं नित्यार्चनाङ्गस्नपनवदत्रैव विधीयते [क्रि. op. cit. 19; खि. op. cit. 8,15]। उत्सवबेराभावे उत्सवबेरे कार्यं उत्सवः अत्रातिदिश्यते [खि. op. cit.15]। स्नपनबेरमेतत् सर्वत्र स्थानकमेव [य. loc. cit, विमा. loc. cit.]। अर्चापदेन चास्य व्यवहारो दृश्यते [खि. op. cit. 6,3,15]।

१.४.५. बलिबेरम्

बलिबेरं कौतुकस्य उत्तरभागे दक्षिणे वा स्थाप्यते [क्रि. op. cit. 7; प्र. loc. cit. पाद्म. op. cit. 48]। नित्यार्चनाद्यङ्गबलिभ्रमणे बेरस्यास्य विनियोग उपदिश्यते। एतदपि स्थानकमेव [य. loc. cit.]। एतद् दारुणा शिलया वा न कल्पनीयम् [का. loc. cit. विमा. loc. cit.]।

तानीमानि वैखानसानां पञ्चबेराणि आलयार्चोपयोगीनि। पाञ्चरात्रिभिः

परमेतदतिरिक्ततया बेरद्वयं चोपदिश्यते । तीर्थबेरं, शयनबेरमिति तद् बेरद्वयमिति क्वचित् [ई. op. cit. 238; पाद्म. op. cit. XXX. I; अनि. op. cit .20; वि. ति. op. cit. 438, श्री.प्र. op. cit. 2], यात्राबेरं, कृत्रिमालयबेरमिति तद् बेरद्वयमित्यन्यत्र [कपि. op. cit. 58, 9; विश्वा. op. cit. 36–9] चेत्येवमत्र मतभेदः संदृश्यते । तत्र यद्यपि तीर्थबेरेणाभिन्नं यात्राबेरं स्यात्, तथापि शयनकृत्रिमालयबेरयोरभिन्नता नैव संभाव्यते । तदित्थं ध्रुवबेरहीनैः वैखानसोक्तैः पञ्चबेरैः एतद्बेरद्वयसंयोजनेन षड्बेराणि संपद्यन्ते येषां वा परार्थयजनाङ्गकार्यविशेषेषु निर्दिश्यते विनियोगः । वैखानसानां पञ्चबेरेषु, ध्रुवबेरस्यापि अन्तर्भावः, पाञ्चरात्रिणां षड्बेरेषु तु, ध्रुवबेरस्य विनाभाव इति तु अवगन्तव्यो विचारः ।

१. ४. ६. तीर्थबेरम्

तीर्थबेरमेतत् कौतुकादुत्तरे स्थाप्यते [पाद्म. op. cit. 47] । अस्य यात्राबेरमित्यपि संज्ञान्तरं दृश्यते । तीर्थस्नाने बेरस्यास्य विनियोगः ।

१. ४. ७. शयनबेरम्

शयनोत्थानयोः विनियुज्यमानमेतद्बेरं शयनोत्थानबेरमित्यपि कीर्त्यते । कौतुकस्य दक्षिणे भागे एतत् स्थाप्यते [पाद्म, op: cit. 48] ।

१. ४. ८. कृत्रिमालयबेरम्

बेरमेतद् बालालयबेरमिति संज्ञान्तरेण च कीर्त्यते । बालालयप्रतिष्ठायामेतद् विनियुज्यते । बालालयकल्पनं च आलयनिर्माणाङ्गत्वेन वा जीर्णोद्धारपूर्वभावितया वा विधीयते । आलये बेरस्यास्य स्थापने बिम्बान्तराणामिव न किंचित् स्थानमुपदिश्यते ।

तान्येतानि पाञ्चरात्रिणां षड्बेराणि । षण्णां चैतेषां बेराणां विनियोगो बहुबेरप्रतिष्ठार्चनयोरेव, नान्यत्र ।

१. ४. ९. उपसंहारः

तदित्थं दक्षिणापथे वैखानसपञ्चरात्रभेदेन द्विविधे वैष्णवागमे प्रतिपाद्यमाने विग्रहाराधनतत्त्वे ध्रुवार्चन-ध्रुवकौतुकसंयुक्तार्चन-एकबेरविधि–बहुबेरविधि–स्थावरार्चन—अस्थावरार्चनसंज्ञकप्रतिष्टाविधिनिबन्धनस्य बेरप्रपञ्चस्य विवेचनमत्रास्माभिरुपकल्पितम् । सोऽयमागमीयबेरप्रपञ्चः सम्यग् ज्ञातः सुप्रयुक्तश्च प्रपन्नानामस्तु कामधुगित्यलमतिविस्तरेण इति शम् ।

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मीमांसकमते मोक्षविचारः

पण्डितराज सुब्रह्मण्य शास्त्री

वाराणसी

मीमांसकाः द्विविधाः भाट्टाः प्राभाकराश्चेति । यद्यपि उभयोरपि मीमांसकयोः एकमेव जैमिनिसूत्रजातं शवरस्वामिनः भाष्यं च मूलग्रन्थौ तथापि व्याख्यातृबुद्धि-वैचित्र्यात् मतभेदो वरीवर्ति । तत्र जैमिनिसूत्रेषु आत्मविचारपरं सूत्रमेव न दृश्यते यद्यपि परलोकसाधनभूतेषु कर्मसु प्रवृत्तिसिद्धयर्थं देहव्यतिरिक्तात्मनिरूपणं जैमिनि-नापि कर्तव्यमेव तथापि शारीरके "एक आत्मनः शरीरे भावात्" इत्यधिकरणे व्यासाचार्यैः निरूपयिष्यते देहव्यतिरिक्तः आत्मा अतोऽत्र जिज्ञासवः तत एवा-गच्छन्तु इत्यभिप्रायेण जैमिनिः तं न सूत्रयामास । अत एव जैमिनिसूत्राणां वृत्तिकृता उपवर्षेण स्वीयवृत्तौ आत्मनिरूपणप्रसङ्गे शारीरके वक्ष्याम इत्युत्कर्षः कृतः । स्पष्टमिदं श्री शांकरभाष्ये एक आत्मन इत्यधिकरणे । अत एव एक आत्मनः शरीरे भावादित्यादिसूत्रमन्यथा व्याचक्षाणाः परास्ताः ।

श्री शवरस्वमिनस्तु औत्पत्तिकसूत्रे (1–1–5) शरीरेन्द्रियप्राणादिव्य-तिरिक्तमात्मानं स्पष्टं न्यरूपयत् । आत्मा स्वयंज्योतिः स्वप्रकाशः नान्यैः द्रष्टुं शक्यः स च परलोकगामीति परलोकप्राप्तिफलाः यागादयः सफला इत्यवोचन् । अत्र शवरस्वामिभिः आत्मा कीदृश इति तद्विशेषो न निरूपितः । भट्टाचार्यास्तु तद्विशेषमपि निरूपयन्ति । तथा हि—

ज्ञानशक्तिस्वभावोऽतो नित्यः सर्वगतः पुमान् ।
देहान्तरक्षमः कल्प्यः सोऽगच्छन्नेव योक्ष्यते ॥

(श्लो. वा. पृ ७०७)

यजमानत्वमप्यात्मा सक्रियत्वात्प्रपद्यते ।
न परिस्पन्द एवैकः क्रिया नः कणभोजिवत् ॥
न च स्वसमवेतैव कर्तृभिः क्रियते क्रिया ।
क्रिया धात्वर्थमात्रं स्यात् अन्याधारेऽपि कर्तृता ॥
सत्ताज्ञानादिरूपाणां कर्ता तावत् स्वयं पुमान् ।
सोऽपि भूतपरिस्पन्दस्तत्राधिष्ठानतो भवेत् ॥

इत्यादि श्लोकैः भट्टाचार्याः आत्मनः स्वरूपं विवृण्वन्ति । आत्मा विभुः ज्ञानादिगुणवान् । तस्य यागादिषु कर्तृत्वं तदनुकूलकृतिमत्वमेव । कृतिश्चात्मधर्मः । ज्ञानादौ कर्तृत्वं तु आश्रयत्वमेवेति जगदुः ।

भट्टमतानुयायी पार्थसारथिमिश्रः शास्त्रदीपिकायां आत्मा शरीरेन्द्रियप्राणमनोभिन्नः । विभुश्च तस्याणुत्वे युगपत् शिरःपादयोर्वेदनानुपपत्तिः शरीरपरिमाणत्वे सावयवत्वादनित्यत्वप्रसंगः । तस्य च प्रतिदेहं भिन्नत्वमेव । एकत्वे चैत्रेणानुभूतस्य मैत्रेणापि स्मृतिप्रसंगात् । स चात्मा स्वप्रकाशः तस्य स्वप्रकाशत्वं च स्वेनैव गृह्यमाणत्वम् । अत एव मामहं जानामीति सार्वजनीनः कर्तृकर्मभावेनात्मनोऽनुभवः स्वप्रकाशत्वे सुषुप्तावप्यात्मनः प्रकाशप्रसंगः । सिद्धान्तबिन्दौ मधुसूदनसरस्वत्यस्तु भट्टमतमेवमाहुः जडोऽवबोधात्मक इति भाट्टा इति । तदर्थश्च आत्मनः अंशद्वयमस्ति जडांशः चिदंशश्च । तत्र चिदंशेनात्मा द्रष्टा, सोहमिति प्रत्यभिज्ञाविषयश्च अचिदंशेन तु ज्ञानसुखादिरूपेण परिणामित्वं मामहं जानामीत्यादिप्रत्यये ज्ञेयत्वं च ज्ञानरूपातीन्द्रियव्यापारेण विषयनिष्ठज्ञाततारूपसंवित्कर्तृत्वं चेति तद्व्याख्यातार ऊचुः एतादृशात्मनः बन्धो नाम आत्मनः प्रपञ्चसंबन्धः सुखदुःखाद्यनुभवश्च । मोक्षस्तूच्यते । तथा हि न्यायसुधाकृत आहुः—

सर्वत्रैव हि विज्ञानं संस्कारत्वेन गम्यते ।
पराङ्गं चात्मविज्ञानादन्यत्रेत्यवधारणात् ॥

इति श्री भट्टवार्तिकात् आत्मज्ञानं संयोगपृथक्त्वन्यायेन क्रत्वर्थं पुरुषार्थं च । तत्र अविनाशी वा अरेऽयमात्माऽनुच्छित्तिधर्मा मात्रासंसर्गस्त्वस्य भवति इति मात्राशब्देन भूतेन्द्रियधर्माभिधानात् शरीरादिव्यतिरिक्तनित्यात्मप्रतिपादनपूर्वकस्य आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्य इत्यात्मज्ञानविधेः फलाश्रवणात् दृष्टसंभवेऽदृष्टकल्पनायोगात् कर्मप्रवृत्तिसिद्ध्यर्थत्वं निर्णीयते ।

असंसारिस्वरूपात्मज्ञानस्य तु कर्मप्रवृत्त्यर्थत्वायोगात् मोक्षरूपपुरुषार्थत्वमेव । पुरुषार्थरूपमात्मज्ञानं च अभ्युदयफलत्वेन मोक्षफलत्वेन च द्विविधम् । तत्र "य आत्माऽपहतपाप्मा इत्यादि श्रुत्युक्तापहतपाप्मत्वादिगुणाष्टकविशिष्टात्मज्ञानस्य सगुणात्मज्ञानरूपस्य "स यदि पितृलोक कामो भवति संकल्पादेवास्य पितरः समुत्तिष्ठन्तीत्यादि श्रुत्युक्तं योगजन्याणिमाद्यष्टैश्वर्यं फलम् । निर्गुणात्मज्ञानस्य तु निःश्रेयसंफलम् । स खल्वेवं वर्तयन् यावदायुषं ब्रह्मलोकमभिसंपद्यते न स पुनरावर्तते इत्यपुनरावृत्तिफलाभिधानात् । तत्र च ब्रह्मैव लोको ब्रह्म लोक इति व्युत्पत्त्या

परमात्म प्राप्तिरेवाभिप्रेता, । परमात्मा च जीव एव कर्तृभोक्त्रात्मकसंसारिरूप-परित्यागेन अकर्तृभोक्त्रात्मकनिजरूपविशिष्टोऽभिप्रेतः, न तु जीवातिरिक्त ईश्वरः अनभ्युपगमात् । मोक्षार्थं च नित्यनैमित्तिककर्ममात्रमनुष्ठेयम् ।

"मोक्षार्थी न प्रवर्तेत तत्र काम्यनिषिद्धयोः
नित्यनैमित्तिके कुर्यात् प्रत्यवायजिहासया"

इतिश्रुतेः । यत्तु ज्ञानस्य कर्मनाशकत्वं "ज्ञानाग्निः सर्वकर्माणि भस्मसात् कुरुतेऽर्जुन" इति स्मृतिसिद्धं "क्षीयन्ते चास्य कर्माणि तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे" इति श्रुतिमूलकम् । तत्तु अर्थवादमात्रमिति वार्तिककाराशयः । इत्थं च ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयः मोक्षसाधनमिति भट्टमतम् । न च बन्धहेतुकर्मक्षयादेव मोक्षसिद्धेः ज्ञानवैफल्यम् । सत्यपि पूर्वकर्मक्षये कर्तृत्वाभिमानानिवृत्तौ मुमुक्षोः निर्व्यापारत्वानुपपत्तेः पुनः बन्धहेतुकर्मारम्भप्रसङ्गात् ।

ननु मोक्षे कथमानन्दोपभोगसंभवः । तस्य मोक्षदशायामुत्पत्तिस्वीकारे मोक्षस्यानित्यतापत्तेः इति चेन्न आत्मनि स्वाभाविकः स्वप्रकाशः आनन्दोऽस्ति स च संसारदशायां वायुविक्षिप्तदीपवत् दुःखसंवलितत्वेन न प्रकाशते मुक्तौ दुःखनिवृत्तौ सत्यां प्रकाशते । तदुक्तं

निजं यत्त्वात्मचैतन्यं आनन्दश्चेष्यते च यः
यच्च नित्यविभुत्वादि तेनात्मा नैवमुच्यते इति ।

अभावात्मकमोक्षप्रतिपादकं वार्तिकं तु मतान्तराभिप्रायमिति न्यायसुधाभिप्रायः

पार्थसारथिमिश्रास्तु मोक्षे आनन्दानुभवः मनसोऽनुवृत्त्यङ्गीकारेणैवोपपाद्यः । तच्च मोक्षस्यामनस्कत्वश्रुतिविरुद्धमिति अभावात्मकमेव मोक्षमङ्गीचक्रुः ।

तदुक्तं वार्तिके "न ह्यभावात्मकं मुक्त्वा मोक्षनित्यत्वकारणम्" इति । तथा च नैयायिकमोक्षवत् दुःखनिवृत्तिरेव मोक्षः तस्य जन्यत्वेऽपि ध्वंसत्वादनन्तत्वम् । तन्निर्वाहश्चेत्थम् यो हि देहाद्विविक्तमजरममरमात्मानं जानाति तस्य विरक्तस्य पूर्वकृतकर्मणां भोगेन क्षयः काम्यप्रतिषिद्धयोरकरणात् तन्निमित्तशुभाशुभशरीरानुत्पत्तिः । देहपाते सकलदुःखध्वंसरूपो मोक्षः । तत्र मुमुक्षुणा नित्यनैमित्तिके कर्मणी प्रत्यवाय परिहारायानुष्ठेये । आत्मस्वरूपज्ञानं तु पूर्वकृताधर्मक्षयाय काम्यनिवृत्तये च सम्पादनीयमिति ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयमाहुः ।

प्राभाकरास्तु—आत्मा जडः तद्धर्मः ज्ञानं तच्च स्वप्रकाशम्। स्वप्रकाशत्वं च परप्रकाश्यत्वाभावः न तु स्वविषयकत्वम् सुखदुःखादयोऽप्यात्मन एव धर्माः। आत्मा विषयानुविद्ध एव प्रकाशते सर्वस्य ज्ञानस्य मितिमातृमेयप्रकाशरूपत्वात् तत्र मितिः स्वप्रकाशा आत्मा मितौ प्रकाशमानोऽपि न मितिकर्म परसमवेतक्रियाफलभागित्वाभावात् अपि तु कर्तैव। विषय एव तु कर्म।

मोक्षश्च सांसरिकविविधदुःखोपरमरूपत्वान् पुरुषार्थः दुःखोपरमस्य पुरुषैरर्थ्यमानत्वात्। सांसारिकसुखं तु दुःखमिश्रत्वात् दुःखकोटिमेव प्रविशति। न च मोक्षे आनन्दः श्रुतिसिद्धः श्रुतीनां सिद्धवस्तुबोधकत्वाभावात्। किञ्च सिद्धस्यानन्दस्येदानीमभिभवादप्रकाश इति वक्तव्यम्। तन्न स्वारसिकस्य स्वयं प्रकाशस्यानन्दस्य अभिभवायोगात्। न च परमप्रेमास्पदत्वेनात्मनः आनन्दरूपता, असिद्धेः। सर्वे हि दुःखनिवृत्तिमेव कामयन्त इत्यात्मनि प्रेमाभिमानः। अतः दुःखनिवृत्तिरेव मोक्षः आत्मनः आनन्दरूपत्वश्रुतिः दुःखाभावरूपत्वपरा। स चात्मा विभुः प्रतिशरीरं भिन्नश्च। आत्यन्तिकदेहोच्छेदो मोक्षः इति पर्यवसितम्। तत्र देहस्य धर्माधर्मकृतत्वात् तयोः क्षयः अपेक्ष्यते। तदर्थं मुमुक्षुणा काम्यनिषिद्धे वर्जनीये। प्रारब्धं तु भोगेनैव क्षपणीयम्। सञ्चितकर्माणि तु आत्मचिन्तनेन निरसनीयानीति मोक्षसिद्धिः। श्रीमधुसूदनसरस्वत्यस्तु वेदान्तकल्पलतिकायां भट्टप्रभाकराभिमतमोक्षं तदुपायं चैवमाहुः।

प्राभाकराणां देहेन्द्रियसंबन्धस्यात्यन्तिको च्छेदो मोक्षः विहितात्मज्ञानपूर्वकवैदिक कर्मानुष्ठानात् धर्माधर्मक्षये तदुच्छेदसिद्धिरित्याहुः।

भाट्टास्तु ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयादेवात्मनो जडबोधात्मकस्य नित्यज्ञानं नित्यसुखं चोदेति। ततश्च विषयविशेषानपेक्षया नित्यज्ञानेन नित्यसुखाभिव्यक्तिरित्याहुः। मानसज्ञानेन वा नित्यसुखाभिव्यक्तिरिति। केचित्तु तत्पक्षीयाः आत्यन्तिकदुःख निवृत्तिं मोक्षमाहुरिति। अत एव मीमांसाया दर्शनत्वमपि सिद्धमिति सर्वं रमणीयम्।

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THE CĀTURMĀSYA-VRATA-SAMAYA-NIRṆAYA OF PṚTHVĪCANDRA

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1. *Introduction*

Vratas in general have been treated voluminously[1] in our dharmaśāstra nibandhas. Several hundred ślokas are given to this topic. A good number of vratas, their specific periods, persons qualified to undertake them, their results and aims, and lastly their procedures are found in Purāṇās and nibandhas. In the present times a large part of these vratas is seen obsolete and without any serviceable purpose. It may be conceded that there is nothing surprising in this phenomenon. The core of the idea of the vratas is post-Vedic for the most part. It was brought forward with a zeal by the Sanātanists shortly after the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. In all this medley of vratas there is very little good point which would make the institution last longer, exceptions of course apart. Though the Purāṇas have made the growth of vratas possible, the later development is almost wholly due to the nibandhas. This development was embarked upon with a view to obstructing the onslaught of Islam and supporting the cause of Hinduism in an adverse situation. It is no wonder, therefore, if this temporary wave should subside after the necessary change in political and social conditions. To some extent attention had been

1. *History of Dharmaśāstra* : Kane, Vol. V, pp. 255—467 : Cf. also *Vrata Kośa*, ed. M. M. Gopinatha Kavirāja.

given to social conditions and individual needs by the religious leaders, though in their enthusiasm to resuscitate the religion, the developments led to a one-sided progress in some respects.

2. *Pṛthvīcandrodaya*

Since the 18th century i. e. the age of the later Peshvas, religious decisions in Maharashtra are taken almost wholly relying on the two well-known nibandhas viz. the *Nirṇayasindhu* of Kamalākara (1616 A. D.) and the *Dharmasindhu* of Kāśīnātha Upādhyāya (1790 A. D.). However, so many works on dharmaśāstra have come to light in the last 75 years, and the greater number of these have been properly dated at least broadly, and it has now become possible to look to our religiosocial history in a better perspective. The present article also is based to some extent on a fragmentary piece of an unpublished old work cited by the nibandhakāras, which shows that the writer floursihed at the time of the early nibandhakāras. He was considered a standard author on dharma. What we know of him[2] is simply that he was mahārājādhirāja, king of Bundelkhand, and son of Nāgamalla and was honoured with the birudas Kalikālakarṇapratāpa, Laṅkeśvaraśaraṇāga, Rājavajrapanjara and Paramavaiṣṇava. He wrote *Dharmatattvakalānidhi*, a big work in ten or sixteen volumes called Prakāśas. Of this, volumes on Āśauca,[3] Vyavahāra, Vrata, Samaya, Śrāddha, Gṛhastha and Ācāra are available. Part I of another volume of this work on Legal Dealings (Vyavahāra) has been recently published by

2. HDh I. ii. pp. 566a, 712b.
3, MS No. 4006,

Dr. J. H. Dave.[4] A fragment from the volume on Samaya has been very recently procured at Dhar in M. P. during my search for manuscripts.[5] The topic as given at the end in the colophon is *Cāturmāsyavratasamaya-nirṇaya*. This new acquisition is a modern copy written on blue, smooth but brittle paper. From the miscellaneous matter at the end, the copyist seems to be a resident of Maharashtra. The late copy probably indicates that other copies of this work might be found out if properly searched for. Nonetheless, the work is rare. This particular tract refers to the *Siddhānta-Saṁhitā*, which is apparently different from the work of the same name by Sūryadasa. In another place he refers to his own work by the words 'mama saṅgrahe'.

3. *The Epic Concept*

Though Vedic sūtra works do mention a few regulations similar to vratas, their context is altogether different. The Cāturmāsya yāgas are Vedic, while the cāturmāsya vratas are purely epic. Probably it was the *Mahābhārata* which for the first time lays down the latter as an essential regulation binding on all.[6] The Purāṇic concept is something like this. The gods, especially Viṣṇu, enjoy a sleep during the six months of the year when the sun moves south of the equator.[7] They

4. Bharatīya Vidyā Series, No. 21.
5. Nagpur University MSS Library, No. 8669.
६. वार्षिकांश्चतुरो मासान् व्रतं किंचित् समाचरेत् । (from महाभारत) पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय ।
7. यदा त्वाषाढी संयाति व्रजते चोत्तरायणम् ।
तदा स्वपिति देवेशो भोगिभोगे श्रियः प्रतिः ॥
प्रतिसुप्ते विभौ तस्मिन् देवगन्धर्वगुह्यकाः ।
देवानां मातरश्चापि प्रसुप्ताश्चाप्यनुक्रमात् ॥
विष्णु पुराण XVII—३.४.

get up earlier on the 11th day of Kārtika even before their night comes to an end. During this period the demons get ascendancy over the good forces and men therefore would do better to undertake some vows to increase the merit with a view to ward off the evil effects.[8] Some further explain by stating that god Indra keeps awake at this time to help Viṣṇu, the protecting force of the Universe.[9] We know that Indra is also the deity of rain and major part of this season is rainy. We also recall at this point that one of the names of Viṣṇu is Upendra, the younger brother of Indra, a little Indra or whose colleague is Indra (a queer compound). Legends connect Viṣṇu's sleep (Yoganidrā) with deluge. They say that the universe is so to say created on the opening of Viśṇu's eyes and it disappears on his closing the eyes. Śaṅkarācārya also similarly describes the creation and dissolution of the universe with reference to the Goddess.[10] Thus the world is regenerated as it were after the four months of the Dakṣiṇāyana. According to the Purāṇas, god Brahman who creates the world is Himself born out of the lotus from Viṣṇu's navel. This part of the legend thus attributes to Viṣṇu the ultimate responsibility of the destruction also of the universe usually assigned to Rudra. GONDA has mentioned the Śatapatha Brāmaṇa and the Āraṇyaka Parvan while dealing with the old Viṣṇu cult, but he is almost silent about the topic under consideration. RUBEN[11] connects the idea of the divine sleep in the four months with some Turkish myths.

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8. *Aspects of Early Vaiṣṇavism* : Gonda. p. 90.
9. हरिवंश L. 26, as quoted by Gonda, p. 91.
10. सौन्दर्य लहरी; ed. N. Brown, Verse 48.
11. Kṛṣṇa-Ruben, pp 146 f (from Gonda, p. 91).

4. *The Vrata Concept*

The underlying idea of the vrata is voluntary self-regulation. The usually accepted definition is that a vrata is a saṁkalpa, a holy determination. The connotations of a saṁkalpa imply volition, aim, consideration, expectation, declaration, and resolve all of which are present in a vrata.[12] In Vedic times some regulations were laid down as a precondition for qualifying for Vedic study. This is also a kind of vrata. But speaking broadly, the varta evolved in the age of the Purāṇs. According to KANE's analysis, though the word vrata occurs a number of times in the earlier Yājñavalkya-smṛti, it is nowhere equivalent to its current usage.[13] Of course this does not prove that vratas were unknown at that time and that they were introduced later on. They go back definitely to a period preceding the Christ. We do have attesting proofs for this. A good number of vratas came into vogue after the early smṛtis, and were later interpolated into the older strata of the Purāṇas. But this generalisation is not to be applied to all irrespective of other considerations. While the word *ṛta* of the Vedas goes back to the Indo-European period, according to KANE, the word vrata is not even Indo-Iranian.[14] KANE, however, at the same time refers to the Vedic compounds a-vrata, any-vrata, and apa-vrata and seems to take vrata there in a sense conforming to the prevail-

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12. स्वकर्तव्यविषयो नियतः संकल्पो व्रतम् । समयप्रदीप as quoted by Kane. V. ch. I.

13. HDh V. ch. VI

14. HDh V. p. 4.

ing usage.[15] But on the whole what we find in the Vedic stage is nothing more than slight indications of its later developments, and even these germs are not very influential in that period.

5. *Social View*

Here it is not necessary to detail out the particulars of the Cāturmāsya vratas, which are abundantly known to all. We have seen that these are connected primarily with the cult of Viṣṇu, but they are not restricted to that sect. They are prescribed even for the Śaivaites[16] and other sects. Some have gone even a step further and indicated that these vratas are useful also for the Mlecchas or non-Vedists and thus have tried to cut across the barriers of caste and faith. Pṛthvīcandra prescribes fourfold vratas on the basis of the *Skanda-Purāṇa* viz. Japa, Homa, Tapas and Dāna.[17] He further explains that a vrata is for one who can undertake it successfully.[18] This means that a vrata presupposes two things : (1) a volition that we should do such and such a thing with such and such motivation, and (2) capacity and favourable circumstances for its fulfilments. For this he

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15. HDh V. p. 11.

16. शैवादिभिरपि कार्यम् । धर्मसिन्धु

17. जपो होमस्तपश्चैव दानं चेति चतुर्विधम् ।
स्वर्गापवर्गफलदं दानं तत्र विशिष्यते ।।

from (स्कन्दपुराण), पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय

18. एषां चातुर्मास्यव्रतानां प्रारंभस्तं (=प्रारम्भस्तु) निर्वाहशक्तेनैव कार्यः । पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय ।

quotes the authority of Durvāsas[19] and the Nadīkhaṇḍa.[20] He states that the ritual attendant on the fulfilments (udyāpana) should follow the procedure given in the Kalpasūtras.[21] If we apply this principle of capacity, we shall find astonishing variety, elasticity and vast scope for selection. All aptitudes are considered and the concept is stretched so far as to make it easy for the masses to follow. This will be exemplified by the simplest yet significant restrictions like listening to the Purāṇa expositions, giving off of oblations, rearing trees, keeping silent after sunset, obeisance to a particular image, greeting a Brahmin daily, bathing at dawn, laying out coloured designs of powder, touching a cow, restrictions of food etc. It is worth noting that writers clarify by saying that worship of a tree for instance is not merely offering of normal articles of worship but consists of keeping a watchful eye on its proper growth and protection. These regulations include such cultural programmes as spreading of useful books. Donations were largely encouraged of all earthly possessions. This not only meant overcoming of passion but also went a long way towards social good-will and equal distribution. Religious leaders no doubt aimed at self-regulation and social service at the same time. Ludicrousness did appear at a later stage to a certain extent, but the origin

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19. तदुक्तं दुर्वासमते । यो हि निर्वाहितुं
(=निर्वहितुं) शक्तो व्रतं नृपसिसत्तम (?) ।
स तदारभते शक्त्या तद्भूतेनान्तरात्मना ॥

20. नदीखंडे ॥ आदावेव विनिश्चित्य स्वशक्ति व्रतमाचरेति ॥

पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय

21. अत्र चाचीर्णव्रतेषूद्यापनमावश्यकं तत् कल्पोक्तं विधेय । पृथ्वी०

and development was based on social thinking. The *Mahābhārata* has made this vrata obligatory, and emphasized that everybody should observe this principle and be useful to the society. It was a social need of the times. Anybody can practise according to his predilections and likings, but actually doing the thing is more important. It was not a lip-sympathy that was preached. The Agni and Garuḍa Purāṇas say expressly that a wise and purposeful observance of vratas is itself penance.[22] The *Nirṇayasindhu,* after noting the hair-splitting differences as regards the denotations of the two-leafed grains and vegetables to be avoided in the month of Kārtika, gives the opinion that all this is baseless and that no good writer would go in for such things.[23] Conversely this means that we should always take into account the context and the aim and should not give undue importance to mere attributes. The same work is also worth considering with respect to the stamping of marks on the body with heated metals, laid down for the Vaiṣṇavaites. It is expressly stated there that this practice may be followed at the most by those who would respect family tradition in this regard, but otherwise it should never be encouraged, and that the practice of the noble persons should be resorted to as a relief.[24] The author dilates to some extent upon the details, but

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22. शास्त्रोदितो हि नियमो व्रतं तच्च तपो मतम्। अग्निपुराण 175.2; गरुड़पुराण 1.128–1; mentioned by Kane V. ch. I.

23. वस्तुतस्त्विदं महानिबन्धेष्वभावात् निर्मूलमेव । निर्णयसिन्धु

24. अत्र शिष्टाचार एवं संकटपाशनिःसरणसृणिरिति संक्षेपः । निर्णयसिन्धुः

refers to Pṛthvīcandra for further guidance,[25] and his statement is fully borne out by our fragment. The foregoing discussion leads to the fact that our dharmaśāstra writers intended individual and social benefit through religious medium and accordingly we also should have the same view-point.

6. *Jain and Buddhist Ideas*

Though both Jainism and Buddhism lay down rules to be followed during the four rainy months, their idea is different. The *Mahāvagga*[26] of the Buddhists states that the Bhikkus should stay at one place during monsoon and reflect on the Spiritual Truth. This was adopted from a similar rule for the Yatis leading the third and fourth stages of life.[27] The Buddists have two options for the period. One is of full four months commencing from Āṣāḍha full-moon day and ending with Kārtika full-moon day. The other way is to observe it for three months only, eliminating the Āṣāḍha. At least in the 7th can, the Northerners used to count the period from the first tithi of Āṣāḍha to the first tithi of Kārtika.[28] The Jains still follow this same method. The Buddhists held councils called pavaraṇas at the end of the period of Vassāvāsa, and it was ordained that the Bhikkus should confess their failings before the chairman of the meetings. The Jains maintain that during this season a number of insects grow and in order not to take

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25. अन्यान्यपि केशकर्तनादिवर्जन-संकल्पानुरूपाणि पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदये ज्ञेयानि । निर्णयसिन्धु

26. महावग्ग ch. III, IV.

27. संस्कृतिकोश : पं॰ महादेव शास्त्री जोशी, III, 365.

28. *Manual of Indian Buddhism* ; Kern, pp. 80—81.

their life the Samaṇas are to observe some vartas in the caturmāsa. They generally prescribe and practise in this regard complete abstenance from food and water on each 8th and 14th tithi or at least drop one meal at night.[29] On the whole, the variety and the concept of vratas seems more the speciality of the Hindus not to be found elsewhere in such exuberance.

7. *The Vrata Period*

The Dharma and Mīmāṁsā śāstras hold a tenet that inasmuchas a vrata depends for its existence upon suitable time, time is the more important factor and vrata is only indirect or less immediate, being related to time. Unless proper time is fixed, it is not possible to act upon a resolution. In practice, however, this is very hard and difficult for the common man, who does not know the subtleties of the question. Hence the necessity of stating secondary time limits. It góes without saying that these secondary rules should be as nearer to the ideal ones as possible. Coming to the topic under discussion, the caturmāsa vratas, being related to the sleep of Viṣṇu during the winter solstice, should be connected with the Sun's progress southwards of the equator, i.e. with the beginning of the Karka māsa. But actually it is associated with Āṣāḍha Ekādaśī. It is difficult to trace exactly at this distant period as to when the Ekādaśī vratas came to be related to the caturmāsa. But now the association is far more powerful and debars, or at least sets aside as the best alternative (Prathama Kalpa), the original beginning at Karka saṁkrānti. According to Pṛthvīcandra, Āṣāḍha

29. संस्कृतिकोश, III p. 664.

Ekādaśī is the only beginning apparently prescribed in the *Viṣṇurahasya*, a very old work.[30] Normally the standard works prescribe fourfold timing for this vrata viz. Āṣāḍha full-moon day, the first 11th, and 12th tithis and the Karka Saṅkranti. This is the order given in the *Kālaviveka* of Jīmūtavāhana,[31] and this is different from that given by Pṛthvīcandra,[32] who places the 11th tithi first in order and adds the 8th tithi before Karka-saṁkrānti on the basis of the *Skanda Purāṇa*. Now here the first thing to note is that the actual beginning of the Dakṣiṇāyana viz. the Karka saṁkrānti is put last. The *Dharmasindhu* and the *Nirṇayasindhu* both omit a reference to this period. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*[33] and the Vratarāja[34] among others state as general rule that the beginning of the vrata should be in the

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30. तत्र विष्णुरहस्ये । आषाढस्य सिते पक्षे एकादश्यामुपोषितः ।। चातुर्मास्यव्रतानां तु कुर्वीत परिकल्पनम् ।। परिकल्पनमारंभः ।। पृथ्वी०

31. चातुर्मासिकव्रतग्रहणे कालचतुष्टयम् । आषाढी पौर्णमासी, शुक्ला एकादशी, द्वादशी, कर्कटसंक्रान्तिश्च । कालविवेक p. 332 quoted HDh V. p. 122 fn. 317.

32. स्कंद पुराणे । शंकर उवाच ।। व्रतप्रारम्भकालास्तु प्रोक्ताः पन्चैव विष्णुना ।। उपक्रमं चतुर्मास व्रतानां तु नरः शुचौ ।। एकादशी द्वादशी च पौर्णिमा च तथाष्टमी कर्कटश्चैव संक्रांतिस्तेषु कुर्याद्यथाविधि ।। शुचावाषाढे ।। एकादशी द्वादशी शयन्न्यौ ।। अष्टमी श्रवणसंबंधिनी ।। अत्रैकादश्यां व्रतग्रहणमिति प्रथमः कल्पः ।। तत्र प्रथमादादिना अकरणे द्वादश्यादिरुत्तरोत्तरकाल इति विवेकः ।। पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय.

33. मिथुनाभिगते सूर्ये शुक्लपक्षे तपोधन ।
एकादश्यां जगत्स्वामी शयनं परिकल्पयेत् ।।

विष्णुपुराण XVII 6.

34. मिथुनस्थे सहस्रांशौ स्वापयेत् मधुसूदनम् ।
तुलाराशिस्थिते तस्मिन् पुनरुत्थापयेद् हरिम् ।।

व्रतराज Nul 4639, f. 352a.

month of Mithuna i. e. when the sun is stationed in the zodiacal sign of Gemini, which does not actually coincide with the Āṣāḍha in our almanacs. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives details in this regard stating that even before the sun enters the sign of Cancer, god Viṣṇu prepares Himself for sleep and then the Dakṣiṇāyana commences.[35] It also gives the order and the tithis of other gods who also enjoy a sleep after the Great Divinity, where particularly God Śiva is looked upon as closer to Viṣṇu. There is a difference of about 24 days between the Karkāyana and the Karksaṁkrānti, which period is believed to be the precursor or the shade (Chāyā) of the astronomical Dakṣiṇāyana. It is during this period that the vrata is to be commenced. Some auspiciousness is attached to the Uttarāyaṇa and hence they do not wait for the Dakṣiṇāyana to commence. There is however an exception viz. when there occurs an intercalary month. In that case the vrata is allowed to commence in the Karka māsa,[36] because then the

35. In continuation of fn. 33.

ततो दिवाकरो राशिं सं प्रयाति च कर्कटम् ।
ततोऽमराणां रजनी भवते दक्षिणायनम् ।।

विष्णु पुराण XVII. 12.

36. यत्तु मोहचूडोन्तरे मिथुनस्थो यदा भानुरमावास्याद्वयं स्पृशेत् । द्विराषाढःस विज्ञेयो विष्णुः स्वपिति कर्कटे ।। इति तदुत्तरवर्षगतकर्कार्कस्वापपरमिति माधवः ।

मेषादिमिथुनांतेषु यदा दर्शद्वयं भवेत् ।
अब्दान्तरे तदावश्यं कर्कटार्के हरिः स्वपेत् ।।
कर्कटादित्रिके चापि यदा दर्शद्वयं भवेत् ।
अब्दांन्तरे तदावश्यं मिथुनार्के हरिः स्वपेत् ।।

इति वाराहमिहिरोक्तेः समयमयूख of नीलकण्ठ, Nul 5389 ; cf also. शुचौ कर्के हरौ मैत्रे निशि स्वापो हरेः श्रुतौ । कालनिर्णयदीपिका of रामचन्द्र, verse 88.

11th tithi of Āṣāḍha cannot come in the Mithuna māsa, and the best alternative is the 11th tithi. Similarly the completion of the vrata is to be solemnized in the Tulā māsa, and there it is rigidly laid down that it should be only on the 11th or the 12th tithi,[37] as the case may be, but never on the Tulā saṅkrānti. Obviously Viṣṇu rises from His sleep even before one-third of the divine night. For completion, there is one other alternative, that of the full-moon day of the month of Kārtika, but this alternative is discouraged. Curiously enough, the Viṣṇu Purāṇa prescribes the vrata only upto the Vṛścika māsa, i. e. somewhere in the Āśvina, after which gods wake up.[38] Thus it may be held that once the caturmāsa was associated with the Karka saṁkrānti, but due to the influence of the Vaiṣṇavites,

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37. एतेषु पूर्वोक्तेषु कालेषु यत्र कुत्राप्युपक्रांतव्रतानां
विधिवदुद्यापनोक्तगवादिद्रव्यदानपूर्वकं परिसमाप्तिः
प्रबोधिन्यां कार्या ।। तथा च महाभारते ।
चतुर्धा गृह्य वै चीर्णं चातुर्मास्यव्रतं नरः ।
कार्तिके शुक्लपक्षे च द्वादश्यां तत्समापयेत् ।।
द्वाद्श्यामिति प्रबोधतिथ्युपलक्षणम् ।।
तेनैकादश्यां प्रबोधपक्षे तत्रैव व्रतसमाप्तिः ।
चतुर्धं [चतुर्धा] पूर्वोक्तव्रतग्रहणसमयस्योपलक्षणम् ।।

पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय f. 2.

38. अनेन तु विधानेन चातुर्मास्यव्रतं चरेत् ।
यावद् वृश्चिकराशिस्थः प्रतिभाति दिवाकरः ।।
ततो विबुध्यन्ति सुराः क्रमशः क्रमशो मुने ।
तुलास्थेऽर्के हरिः कामः शिवंपश्चाद् विबुध्यते ।।

विष्णुपुराण XVII. 26, 27.

it ceased to be so associated and it became a general rule that the Ekādaśī is for all practical purposes the day to commence the religious festivities attendant with Sleep. It means that so far as this vrata is concerned the Nirayana system is to be looked upon as the last resort. Hemādri has long ago depricated such a deviation and the inconsistency of the actuality with the procedures, relying upon the authority of Laugākṣi in the case of the Makara Saṁkrānti, but some times practice prevails over injunction and the gap remains widened. Here, however, it may be contended that the Vaiṣṇavites have offered some rational justifications.

There are some other considerations of constellations etc. It is a general rule that the vrata should be completed on the same constellation on which it was started. Anurādhā, Śravaṇa and Revatī are prescribed in this case for the different stages.[39] Hemādri has by far gone in for a good deal longer discussion into which we need not enter.[40] Suffice it to say that he also agrees that these considerations are not to be applied rigorously.[41] The vrata further is taken as essential

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39. आभाकाद्येषु मासेषु मिथुने माधवस्य च ।
द्वादश्यां शुक्लपक्षे च प्रस्वापावर्तनोत्सवाः ।।

इति भविष्योक्तेः । तत्रैव । आभाकासितपक्षेषु मैत्रश्रवणरेवती । आदिमध्यावसानेषु प्रस्वापावर्तनोत्सवाः ।। इति समयमयूख.

40. चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, परिशेषखण्डे कालनिर्णयः द्वितीयो भागः
pub. Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1895, pp. 897—912.

41. एकादश्यां द्वादश्यां च नित्यं संनिहितो हरिः ।
तत्र नक्षत्र संयोगे पादयोगो न कारणम् ।।
परिशेषखण्ड, p. 90.

and hence the normal prohibitory periods of the setting of Jupiter and Venus, impurity days, etc. do not apply here.[42] The Dharmasindhu does apply this prohibition for the first undertaking of the caturmāsa,[43] but this is controversial and Nīlakaṇṭha disapproves it.[44] Pṛthvīcandra also apparentty sides with the simpler interpretation. Pṛthvīcandra understands by the 12th tithi the tithi on which Viṣṇu rises from sleep and allows the custom and other rules to operate. He seems to be lenient in some cases. The 8th tithi prescribed by him on the authority of the Skanda Purāṇa is nowhere else given. It is Śravaṇa-sambandhinī as he explains, so it may be the 8th tithi of the bright half of Śravaṇa, or more probably the 8th tithi of the dark half of Āṣāḍha in compliance with the prevalent practice of counting months of the caturmāsa. Taking into consideration the intercalary months and other things, Hemādri rightly takes the words 'four months' in a vague man-

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42. इदं च व्रतस्य ग्रहणं परिसमापनं च
गुरु शुक्रमौढयादावपि कार्यम् ।। तदाह वृद्धगार्ग्यः ।
न शैशवं न मौढ्यं च शुक्रगुर्योर्न वार्धकं ।।
खंडं च चिंतयेच्चातुर्मास्यव्रतविधौ नरः इति ।।
खंडं खंडतिथिम् । पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय.

43. गुरु शुक्रास्तादौ आशौ चादौ चापि
द्वितीयादिव्रतं, न प्रथमम् । धर्मसिन्धु.

44. न शैशवं एतद् द्वितीयाद्यारम्भे,
प्रथमारम्भस्तु न भवतीति कश्चित् ।
तत्तुच्छम् व्यवस्थायां मानाभावात् ।
आशौचे अनारम्भ एव । समयमयूख.

ner.[45] Pṛthvīcandra emphasizes on the basis of the Mahābhārata that those who are incapable for any reason to commence the vrata on the prescribed day may commence it on the Tulā saṅkrānti appearing at the end of Āṣvina,[46] and keep it till Kārtika 11th. This means the period of vrata varies from about a fortnight to about five months and the statement of Hemādri about the prāyikatva is borne out. This short period as a case of āpad-dharma and the concession in the case of a recluse that he may stay at one place as part of the cāturmāsa vrata only for two months exemplify the elasticity and this is accepted even by the Jains and the Buddhists.

8. *Pṛthvīcandrodaya*

We may conclude this discussion with a short note on the writer and the fragment here alluded to. AUFRECHT is silent about his *Dharmatattvakalānidhi*.[47] Pṛthvīcandra seems however to be a well-versed writer on dharma and is quoted by standard works. The *Nirṇayasindhu* refers us ultimately to Pṛthvīcandra for further guidance, and the details justify this to some extent. Pṛthvīcandra cites from a good number of older works, but the tract under discussion does not mention

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45. प्रबुध्यते मासचतुष्टयेनेत्यस्य प्रायिकाभिप्रायिकानुवादत्वात् ।
परिशेषखण्ड, p. 909

46. In continuation of fn. 6—
तुलायामपि कर्तव्यं चातुर्मास्य प्रशांतये । (from महाभारत)
पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय

47. C C I. 345_b: which is the only reference here.

a single author later than the 10th century.[48] He may be placed somewhere between 1450 and 1500 A. D. His reference to Saṅgraha is not very clear, but the citation describes the image of goddess Lakṣmī.[49] This together with his quotation from the Siddhānta-saṁhitā on Pratimā-Lakṣaṇa may be an indication that he might have been a student of iconography also, though the work seems to be merely a collection as the title here states. All the same this is an old authority on dharma and from what we have seen here may throw some light on hitherto unknown facts in the history of our religion if more of his writings become available in future.

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48. अग्निपुराण, क्षीरस्वामिन्, गारुड, दुर्वासमत, नदीखण्ड नारदीय, पद्मपुराण, ब्रह्मवैवर्त, ब्रह्माण्ड, भविष्यपुराण, भविष्योत्तरपुराण, महाभारत, वायुपुराण, विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, विष्णुरहस्य, वृद्धगार्ग्य, संग्रह, सनत्कुमार, सिद्धान्तसंहिता, & स्कन्दपुराण ।

49. श्रीरूपं च मम संग्रहे ।। पद्मस्था पद्महस्ता च गजोक्षिप्त (गजोत्क्षिप्त) जलाप्लुता ।। श्रीः पद्ममालिनी भूत्यै कल्पोक्ताकृतिरेव च ।।
पृथ्वीचन्द्रोदय f. 5a

PĀṆINIAN SYSTEM OF KṚT-SUFFIXATION AND ACCENTUATION

M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

Allahabad

0. *Introduction*

It is a well-known principle in the descriptive grammar of Pāṇini (=P.) that noun-forming suffixes (*pratyaya-s*) are divided into two main classes : *kṛt* added directly to a root (*dhātu*) and *taddhita* to a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). In this paper* I focus my attention on the Pāṇinian system of Kṛt-suffixation and accentuation.

0.1 *Kṛt-pratyaya-s*

P. enumerates 128 *kṛt-pratyaya-s* (=*KPs*), according to my count, in the third Chapter of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (=*A.*). In fact 56 bound morphemes (=bm.s) are distributed in these 128 *KPs* which are taught in about 440 rules by P.

1. *Structure of a KP*

A bm., occurring at the final position of the derivative (*prātipadika* which is a nonclosed or 'open' morphological construction) is suffixed to a root (=R). The structure of a Pāṇinian *KP* is such that the linkage of

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exponents[1] (*ITs*) to bm.s is seen in the initial, penult and final positions of suffixes.

The accent *ITs* occur generally in the final position (70 times) and occasionally in the initial position of *KPs* (5 times), while the nonaccent *ITs* can occur in any of these positions. Some select examples are schematised in the Table that follows :

KP	bm	Initial position	Penult position	Final position	Accent *IT*	Non accent *IT*	Rule No. in *A.*
L-yu	*-ana-*	√			L		3, 1, 134
a-C	*-a-*			√	C		3, 1, 134
K-ta	*-ta-*	√					3, 2, 102
na-Ṅ	*-na-*					K	3, 3, 90
tum-U-N	*tum*		√	√ √	N	Ṅ U	3, 3, 10
KH-am-U-Ñ	*-am*	√	√	√	Ñ	KH/U	3, 4, 25

1.2 That P.'s fomulation of *KPs* structures with utmost care the Kṛt-stem-formation at the morphological level together with the grammatical operations such as accentuation and morphophonemic changes—all at one stroke—reveals his remarkable sense of economy[2] which is regarded as one of the most fascinating tools of modern linguistic description. For instance in (the *KP*) *GH-ura-C* the exponents *GH* (occurring initially) and *C* (appearing finally) are appended to the bm. *-ura-*, the former *IT*

1. The term *IT* (capitalised for the sake of clarity) is rendered as "element annexé, exposant, indice grammatical" in *Terminologie Grammaticale du Sanskrit* par L. RENOU (Paris 1957). See G. L. TRAGER, *The Theory of Accentual System*, p. 132 (Wisconsin 1941) where he regards 'exponential sounds' as the qualities of the type of stress, pitch and quality on the phonetic level.

2. Cf. A. MARTINET, *Elements of General Linguistics* 6.5 [Eng. Trans. by PALMER, London, 1964] where he considers economy as the tendency of a language to follow the law of least effort.

indicating here the substitution of a velar for a palatal, and the latter (*C*) the oxytonesis. When *GH-ura-C* is suffixed to the root *bhañj*, the resultant derivative is obtained by the fo lowing process :

√*bhañj*	+*GH-ura-C* . .	*GHuraC* by *A.* 3, 2, 161
,,	+*ϕ-ura-ϕ* . .	[*GH*=*ϕ* by *A.* 1, 3, 8; 9
		[*C*=*ϕ* by *A.* 1, 3, 3; 9
bhaṅg	+*ura*	*g* for *j* by *A.* 7, 3, 52
=*bhaṅg-urá-*		oxytonesis by *A.* 6, 1, 163
=*bhaṅgurá*+sUP	=	*bhaṅgura*+*r*=*bhaṅguráḥ*.

1.3 It deserves mention in this connection that one of the essential mechanical principles of P.'s structuralism is that all *ITs* appended to a *KP* must be zeroed, although the grammatical operations pertaining to the zeroed *IT*, are applicable as if it were existent.[3] Concomitantly, when *GHuraC* is suffixed to the R, two grammatical operations will takc place : velarisation (*kutva-*) and oxytonesis (*antodātta-*). Thus we obtain *bhaṇguráḥ* 'brittle'.

2. *Structure of a Derivative*

2.1 A derivative made by means of a *KP* may be either 'simple' (or noncompounded) or compounded. The dismemberment of a simple Kṛt-derivative (abbr. to D) into its two essential components, Root (=R) and Kṛt-suffix (=S)—the R occurring in the initial position and the S appearing after the R (*A.* 3, 1, 1–2)–is in accord with

3. Read Patañjali *ad A* 1, 1, 10 : *varṇānām upadeśas tāvat. upadeśottarakālā it.saṁjñā.* First, the *ITs* are uttered; second, they are designated *ITs* and third, they drop out.

P.'s descriptive procedure. The compound derivative (=CD) contains an *upapada*[4] (=U) preposed to the R to which a *KP* is added. Both the D and CD are designated nonclosed stems (*prātipadika-s*). P. defines a *prātipadika* in the metarule : *arthavadadhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam* (*A*. 1, 2, 45). A *prātipadika* (an open or nonclosed morphological construction) is a significant form, which is neither a verbal R nor a S. In the next rule : *Kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca* (*A*. 1, 2, 46), P. assigns derivatives, made by means of *KPs* and *taddhita* suffixes, and compounds to *prātipadika-s*.

A single case morpheme (*sUP*) closes the nominal construction in Sanskrit. To put it particularly, a nominal word (=W) will be morphologically closed when a *sUP* is added to a simple D or CD. This is in conformity with P.'s definition of a W[5] (*padam*) as : *sup-tiṅ-antaṁ padam* (*A*. 1, 4, 14). Consequently the essential compo-

4. The term *Upapada* is rendered as 'supplementary' 'dependent' or 'accompanying word'; '*Begleitwort*' (*Altindische Grammatik* I. 1. Sect. 75) or *Erganzungswort* [Birwe, *Studien zu Adhyāya* III *der Aṣṭādhyāyī Pāṇinis*, p. 26 (1966). According to *A*. 3, 1, 92, a word cited in the locative case is the *upapada* to the R.

5. This reflects the IE state of affairs too, since an IE word is composed of the root (*la racine*) the suffix (*le suffixe*) and an ending (*le désinence*). See A. Meillet, *Introduction à l' étude comparative des languages indo-européennes* (Alabama 1966), pp. 147 ; 151.

N. B.—The term bm (bound morpheme) is used in this paper to refer to the bound suffix which exists in the object language. The term *KP* refers to the Pāṇinian suffix which is sealed with exponents (*ITs*). For example, *L-yu-Ṭ* is a *KP* while *-ana-* is its bm. The former is a metaterm in Pāṇinian structural procedure, while the latter occurs in the object language, as bound.

nents of a W made by means of a *KP* are : R (with or without *U*), S and *s-UP*. If a *KP* is appended to a R which has an *U*, the *U* occurs before the R, the S and the case morpheme follow it (R).

2.2 *Formula for D/W/CD/CW*

It is possible to draw up a formula for a simple D and Kṛt-W as follows :

R+S=D, and

D+T=W

where T stands for a Termination (*s-UP*). The compound derivative (=CD) and the compound word (=CW), on the other hand, may be represented by the formulas :

(i) (*U*). R+S=CD,

(ii) (U_1.U_2). R+S=CD, and

CD+T=CW

As an example for a simple D we may cite *gám-a-* which is derived from √*gam* (R) by means of the kṛt suffix *a-P* (*A*. 3, 3, 58). When the masc. nom. sg. declensional affix *s-U* is added to *gama-*, the morphological construction is closed, and we obtain *gám-a-ḥ* 'march'.

With regard to CDs, the formulas (i) and (ii) need an explanation. In several rules—numbering about 277 in the *A*—P. enjoins the addition of a *K*P to a R, if it (R) has an *U* supplemented to it. For instance, he teaches in the rule : *pūrve karttari* (*A*, 3,2,19) that *Ṭ-a* (a *KP* which recurs from *A*. 3,2,16 into 19) is suffixed to the R *sṛ-* (*sartteḥ* recurring from *A*. 3, 2, 18 into 19), if *pūrva-*

denoting agent is the *U*. Accordingly we obtain *pūrva-sar-á-ḥ* 'one who moves in front', which is an oxytonic W through the force of *A*. 6, 2, 139 and 3, 1, 3 by the following process in which the bottom-to-top-analysis is structured :

pūrva √*sṛ* + Ṭ–*a* . . . *Ṭa* by *A*. 3, 2, 19
" " + ϕ–a . . . Ṭ=ϕ by *A*. 1, 3, 7; 9
" sar + a . . . guṇa by *A*. 7, 3, 84
=*pūrva-sar-á-* . . . Oxytone by *A*. 6, 2, 139 which preserves the suffixal accent taught in *A*. 3, 1, 3.

pūrvasará + *s–U* . . . *sU* by *A*. 4, 1, 2
" + *s–ϕ* . . . *U*==ϕ by *A*. 1, 3, 2; 9
" + *r*–U . . . *rU* for *s* by *A*. 8, 2, 66
" + r–ϕ . . . U=ϕ
" + ḥ . . . *ḥ* for *r* by *A*. 8, 3, 15

=*pūrvasaráḥ* . . . Initial S–accent remains, since *sUP* is grave by *A*. 3, 1, 4.

The W may be represented in the following frame in which the top-to-bottom-analysis is shown :

U	R	S	T
pūrva	*sar*	*á*	*ḥ*
"	"	"	*r*
"	"	"	*s*
"	"	"	—
"	*sṛ*	*Ṭ–a*	—

Furthermore, P. teaches the addition of a *KP* to a R which has two *Us*. Instances for this treatment may be represented in the following frame :

U_1	U_2	R	S	T	S-Rule	Accent Rule
kūlam	*ud*	*vah*	*á*	*ḥ*	3, 2, 31	6, 2, 139; 3, 1, 3
śaṅkha	*pra*	*stār*	*á*	*ḥ*	3, 3, 32	6, 2, 144
īṣad	*āḍhyaṁ*	*kár*	*a*	*ḥ*	3, 3, 127	6, 2, 139; 1, 193

The examples cited here show that the three rules cited in column 7 will operate when two *Us* (U_1 and U_2) are preposed to Rs listed in column 3 .

3. *Root*

3.1 The R being the basic constituent (or nucleus), P. lays special emphasis on its structure. Here too the principle of economy is at work, which is evident from the manner in which P. enumerates Rs to which *KPs* are added.

The rule : *dhātoḥ* (*A*.3,1,91), being an *adhikāra-sūtra*, extends its operation upto the end of the third chapter of the *A*. All *KPs* which are differentiated from *tiṄ* (tense markers) through the force of the rule : *Kṛd atiṅ* (*A*. 3,1,93) , must appear after verbal Rs (*pratyayaḥ* *A*. 3,1,1 and *paraś ca* , *A*. 3,1,2) .

3.2 The Rs appear with or without *Us* . In a certain number of rules, preverbs are preposed to Rs indicated by the term *upasarge* (*A*. 3,1,136) and in others, these are prohibited by the use of the term *anupasarge*, (*A*. 3,1,100).

P. has listed 500 Rs approximately in the third chapter of the *A*. Of these a certain number of roots have a general distribution and others occur before some specified *KPs*. In fact the *KPs Ṇ-vu-L, tṛ-C, tṛ-N, K-ta, K-tavat-U, Ṡ-at-Ṛ, Ṡ-āna-C*—only to mention a few—can be appended to all Rs. But there are others which are suffixed to Rs as specified by P. in his rules. An instance for this treatment is seen in *gāthakaḥ* 'singer' derived from the root *gai* by means of the suffix *thaka-N* according to the rule: *gas thakan* (*A*.3,1,146) .

3.3 The Rs to which *KPs* are added may be broadly arranged in the eight following categories :

(i) Direct listing of Rs (*A*. 3, 2, 61) and R–classes (*A*. 3, 1, 134).

(ii) Rs ending in vowels (*A*. 3, 1, 97),

(iii) Rs ,, ,, consonants (*A*. 3, 3, 121),

(iv) Rs ,, ,, vowels or consonants (*A*. 3, 1, 124),

(v) Rs marked with exponents (*Ṅ*. *A* 3, 2, 187) ; *Ḍ* : 3, 3, 88 and (*ṣ* : *A*. 3, 3, 104) ;

(vi) Verbs ending in derivative suffixes (*A*. 3, 3, 102) ;

(vii) Verbal Rs denoting the sense of motion or sound (*A*. 3, 2, 148) ; and

(viii) Unspecified Rs (*A*. 3, 1, 96).

The categorisation of Rs attempted here is only representative, but not exhaustive, of the several ways by which P. lists Rs in the chapter dealing with Kṛt-suffixation.

4. *Accent exponents*

4.1 The accent *ITs* are eight in number : *C*, *Ñ*, *T* (T_1 and T_2), *N*, *P*, *R* and *L*. P. has specifically designed these exponents to mark the pitch features—*udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*. This is shown in the Table that follows:–

Accent Symbol	Accent Position	Accent Rule
C	end-acute	6, 1, 163
Ñ	initial-acute	6, 1, 197
T { T_1	circumflex	6, 1, 185
T { T_2	initial-acute	6, 1, 213
N	,, ,,	6, 1, 197
P	grave tone	3, 1, 4
R	penult-acute	6, 1, 217
L	acute on the syllable before the suffix	6, 1, 193

4.2 Patañjali in his disquisition on *A*. 3, 1, 3 makes a binary categorisation of the Kṛt–suffixes : *niyata-svara. pratyaya–s* and *aniyata.svara.pratyaya–s*. In a total of 128 *KPs*, 75 suffixes which are sealed whith accent exponents belong to the former category, while the rest (53 *KPs*) which do not contain accent *ITs* belong to the latter category, since the tonal features of these accent *IT*-less *KPs* will have to be decided by the logical

application of the general rules ordained by P. in his system of accentuation. For instance, the *niyata.svara* of a suffix *a–C* is that a W derived from this *KP* will be oxytonic through the force of *A.* 6, 1, 163, whereas the *aniyata.svara* of a suffix like *ṆyuṬ* (=bm. -*ana*-) will suggest that a W made by means of this suffix will be governed by *A.* 3, 1, 3, (suffix-initial accent). Examples are : *mod-á-* (√*mud*+*a-C* *A.* 3, 1, 134) 'rejoicing' and *gāy-ána-* (√*gai*+*y*-uk *A.* 7, 3, 33+*Ṇ-yu-Ṭ* *A.* 3, 1, 147) 'singer'—for both categories respectively.

5. *Accentual categories*

5.1 In a D consisting of R plus S, the accent falls on either the R or the S. The accentual categories of Ds may be structurally distinguished as follows, confining our data only to simple Ds.

5.2 The Root is accented when

(i) Zero suffixes (*KvIP*, etc.) are appended by Rs;

(ii) *KPs* contain the exponents Ñ/N/P/L ;

(iii) *yaT* is suffixed to a R, if the W is dissyllabic (with the exception of *nāvyâ-* according to *A.* 6, 1, 213),

(iv) *ṆyaT* is suffixed to the Rs. *īḍ*...*duh*, taught in *A.* 6, 1, 214 ; and

(v) R-accent appears in specifically enumerated word-lists (*A.* 6, 1, 202–3 ; 205–7). Nevertheless exceptions to (ii) with special reference to Ñ and *P* are seen in the following cases :

(a) With *GH-a-Ñ* oxytonic Ws are also formed : *karṣ-á-ḥ* (*A*. 6, 1, 159), *uñc-á-ḥ* (*A*. 6, 1, 160) ;

(b) With *K-ya*-P are formed oxytonic Ws too : *vrajyá* f. (*A*. 3, 3, 98; accent rule : *A*. 3, 3, 96).

It deserves mention in this connection that if the R contains more than one syllable, the *udātta* falls on the radical final vowel in conformance with the general rule : *dhātoḥ* (*A*. 6, 1, 152).

5.3 The suffix is accented when

(i) Ws are formed with the *aniyata.svara-pratyaya*-s (14 *IT*-less *KPs*+39 accent *IT*-less *KPs*) which will appear with suffix-initial accent (*A*. 3, 1, 3) ;

(ii) *KPs* contain the accent exponent *C* (*A*. 6, 1, 163) ;

(iii) Gerundives in *anīya-R* are formed (penult vowel of the S is accented by *A*. 6, 1, 217); and

(iv) When *Ṇ-ya-T* and *tavya-T* are suffixed to Rs, the suffix final will bear the circumflex intonation by *A*. 6, 1, 185.

Some exceptions to (i), (ii) and (iv) are as under :

(a) A dissyllabic participle in *K-ta* (allowing S-initial accent by *A*. 3, 1, 3), when a name (*saṁjñā*) is designated, has the accent on the R vowel, but not if the initial syllable of the D has *ā* (*niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*, *A*. 6, 1, 205). Examples : *Gúptaḥ*, *Dáttaḥ Búddhaḥ*.

(b) *aC*-Ws are, sometimes, barytonic (*A*. 6, 1, 203); e. g. *vṛ́ṣ-a-ḥ* ;

(c) *ṆyaT*-Ws are barytonic (*A*. 6, 1, 185 ; See 5.2. iv); e. g. *íḍ-ya-ḥ* (*ṆyaT* *A*. 3, 1, 124 ; accent rule *A*. 6, 1, 214).

5.4 These are, succintly speaking, the workable criteria governing the accentuation of simple Ds. In determining the accentuation of CDs, on the other hand, we have to take into consideration several general rules and the specific accentual formulations occurring in *A*. VI 2.

6. *Accent as a contrastive feature*

6.1 An important characteristic of nominal derivation in early IE is the dichotomy between agent nouns (having suffixal accentuation) and action nouns (appearing with radical accentuation). P. has not seriously examined the problem of accentual polarisation causing differentiation in meaning. Yet the old relic is preserved to some extent and is exemplified by a small number of doublets such as *sparśáḥ* 'touch' (or 'one who touches') : *spárśaḥ* 'warmth' or 'disease'. The former is an agent noun formed with *a–C* (*A*. 3, 1, 134) and is oxytonic (*A*. 6, 1, 163) ; but the latter is an action noun made by means of *GHaÑ* (*A*. 3, 3, 16) and is barytonic (*A*. 6, 1, 197).

6.2 In a certain number of kṛt derivatives, accent may be said to be a contrastive feature in the phonemic system, although P. does not categorically state that the tonic accents *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* can play the role of prosodies (or suprasegmentals). The following

typical examples drawn from the *A.* may serve the purpose of illustrating this principle.

(i) */sparśáḥ/* 'one who touches [AgN, *a*C ; *A.* 3, 1, 134, accent rule *A.* 6, 1, 163]:

/spárśaḥ/ 'disease or warmth' [ActN ; *GHaÑ* ; *A.* 3, 3, 16 ; accent rule *A.* 6, 1, 197].

(ii) */garáḥ/* 'poison' [aP ; *A.* 3, 3, 57 ; accent rule *A.* 6, 1, 160] :

/gáraḥ/ 'swallowing' [*aP* ; *id.*; accent rule 3, 1, 4 ; 6, 1, 162].

(iii) */kṣayáḥ/* 'destruction' [*aC* ; *A.* 3, 3, 56 ; accent rule *A.* 6, 1, 163] :

/kṣáyaḥ/ 'dwelling' *GHa* ; *A.* 3, 3, 118 ; accent rule *A.* 6, 1, 201].

(iv) */āśitáḥ/* 'what has been eaten', [object, *Kta* ; *A.* 3, 2, 188 ; accent rule *A.* 6, 2, 144] :

/ā́śitaḥ/ 'who has eaten' [AgN ; *Kta* ; *id.*; accent rule *A.* 6, 1, 207].

To put it in modern linguistic terminology, */sparśáḥ/* and */spárśaḥ/* are minimal pairs ; the former is an agent noun which has the S–accent, while the latter is an action noun which appears with radical accent. Accordingly, there is the structural possibility of the phonemic contrast of an *udātta* suprasegment with the *anudatta* suprasegment at the final position of both the Ws.

6.3 Such instances, however, are restricted to a small number of Ds. In a vast majority of Ds, accent is an

indispensable element of morphology. Consequently any description of nominal derivation in Sanskrit without accentuation is not only incomplete but also inadequate. This being said, the principal aim adopted in the *A.* seems to be the determination of the morphological role played by accent in Sanskrit.

ABBREVIATIONS :

AgN = Agent noun. ActN = Action noun. The rest are explained in the text itself.

IMPRESS OF BUDDHISM ON INDIAN PEOPLE*

P. V. BAPAT
Poona

It is a conundrum to many students of Buddhism that the religion of Buddhism having originated in India and having held its sway for about twelve centuries (600 B. C. to 600 A. D.) as a powerful rival to Brahmanism should now remain obliterated (barring of course the rise of neo-Buddhists who are more of Ambedkarites than Buddhists) in the land of its origin. We learn from the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang that during the time of his visit to India (7th century A. D.), there were signs of the beginning of decline of Buddhism in India. He mentions many deva-temples existing side by side with many monasteries of early Buddhists—who were decisively called Hīnayānists by their rivals as well as of Mahāyānists.

If we closely study the history of religious thought and practices in India from the time of the Gupta period onwards, we shall see several evidences that show the gradual absorption of Buddhist thought and practices in India.

(1) The *Mahābhārata* (the enlarged form of earlier *Bhārata*) already reveals at various places a Buddhist impress on the same. Side by side with the passages commending Vedic sacrifices involving animal-slaughter,

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we also find passyges where the practice of killing living animals in Vedic sacrifices is condemned. We learn that there were two sides to this problem. The supporters of Vedic gods insisted on the practice of killing animals; on the other hand, there were munis or hermits who recommended sacrifices with the offering of corn [(*vrīhi*) XII.257.9]. The same epic (XII.25.4. 45-47) also tells us that people were showered upon with a century of diseases as a result of the sinful killing of a cow or bullock. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (1.8.52) is not prepared to condone the slaughter of animals even when it is done for Vedic sacrifice. This clearly reveals that the Buddhist revolt against the Vedic sacrifices with animal-slaughter had already begun to create are -action against the orthodox society.

(2) Another important contribution of Buddhism was to give more importance to *Karma* than to birth. This Buddhist position was also appreciated by the *Mahābhārata*. We are told in that epic (XIII. 143.47-59) that even a Brāhmaṇa gets fallen on account of his evils action and that even a Sūdra can be raised to the position of a Brāhmaṇa by good acts of his.

(3) Buddhism had begun to assume such importance in the society that the orthodox people could no longer ignore it. Gods of Buddhism came to be given importance. We find the names of Buddhist gods too included amog those that were piled by Nārada on Nārāyaṇa among one thousand names used in his eulogy (XII. 325).

(4) The philosophic and religious ideas of the Buddhists came to be recognised. The *Mahābhārata*

refers (XII. 211, 31, 39), though not fully, to the Buddhist Law of Dependent Or gination (*Pratītya-samutpāda*), as can be clearly seen by the Comment of Neelakaṇṭha, who in his explanation clearly details all the twelve factors of that Law. It also refers to the Noble Eightfold Path (*Ārya Āṣṭāṅgika Mārga*), though it constituents are not the same (III.2.7,73). It also refers to the four (Buddhist) ways of cultivating meditatio (*dhyāna*) (XII.188).

The two kinds of Truth—conventional (*saṁvṛti*) and absolute (*paramārtha*), devised by the Mahāyānists were surely the predecessors of the three kinds of Truth advocated by Śaṅkara. The Śūnyatā, Relativity (unfortunately misunderstood by the orthodox writers), has much in common with Nirguṇa Brahma of Śaṅkara. The Māyāvāda of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara is obviously inherited from the Mahāyānists. Śaṅkara is, as is well-known, dubbed by his opponents a Buddhist in disguise (*pracchannaBauddha*). The doctrine of non-origination of Nāgārjuna is accepted by Gauḍapāda, who also uses several Buddhist terms like *Ādi-Buddha*, *Tāyin*, *kṣānti*, *vaiśāradya*, *alāta-śānti*, etc. The Pāñcarātra Āgamas and the Śaivites also use *Śūnya* and *Mahāśūnya* though in a different sense.

(5) The Buddhist logicians like Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti, Bhavya and Buddhapālita introduced new methods in their mode of reasoning, which came to be accepted by the orthodox logicians. Prabhākara was so much influenced by the Buddhist logicians that he too came to be dubbed a '*Buddha-bandhu*', a kinsman to the Buddha by Vedāntic logicians.

(6) Śaṅkarācārya established new centres of learning for his followers, and he thought it necessary to organise a band of religious workers. Rāmadāsa also in mediaeval times organised such a band of selfless religious workers.

(7) Another important contribution of Buddhism was, I believe in spite of great scholars like Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane and others, the institution of the Four Āśramas, successive stages of life, recommended for every Hindu—the stages (i) of celibate studentship (*Brahmacārī*), (ii) of a married householder (*gṛhastha*), (iii) of a life of retirement into a forest with one's wife (*vānaprastha*) and (iv) of a life of complete renunciation (*sannyāsa*). This seems to me to be the result of a deliberate reform introduced by the Brāhmaṇa leaders, by way of reaction against the Buddhist practice of inducing young men and women to leave the house and accept the celibate life of a Śramaṇa. Even in Buddha's own life-time, there were complaints recorded in Pali *Vinaya* (i.43) against the Buddha himself. When he would be going to a village or a town, people who, coming from long distance, noticed him and complained: "Here comes the man who deprives old parents of their young sons, and young women of their husbands with the result that these young women are reduced to the wretched life of widows". Such actions on the part of young people were considered by the orthodox Social reformers to be anti-social and so they devised this new institution of the four successive stages of life, which makes provision for leaving the house and accepting the life of houselessness in due course, for those who are inclined that way. There is evidence to show that this institution is not

very old. The Buddhist Pali records in the ir canonical form and the Jain Prakrit records in the Jain canon, so far as I know, do not mention this institutionfo Āśramas, though they constantly mention the institution of the Four Varṇas : Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras. If the former had existed at that time, it would surely have been mentioned in these sources. They refer to only two classes, the house-holders *gṛhastha* or *gṛhin*) and holy men (*Brahmacārin*). As a well-knit organisation of the four successive stages of life, they are mentioned in *Jābālopaniṣad* of later times, though in *Chāndogyopaniṣad* II.23.1, there is the mention of three Dharma-skandhas, which imply only three stages and that too not in the usual order. As a new upstart institution with no hallowed antiquity, it was frowned upon by Law-makers like Baudhāyana. He says that this institution was started by an Asura, named Kapila, son of Prahlāda, with the deliberate intention of depriving the enemical *devas* of their legitimate offerings from house-holders (I.6.17). The offerings would cease when the householders leave their homes and accept the houseless state. And, therefore, urges Baudhāyana, no serious notice need be taken of the same. Thus, it appears very plausible, that the wise reformers among the Brāhmaṇas, as a reaction against the Buddhists, devised this new institution, which steered clear of the dangers of the *forced* life of celibacy of young entrants into the houseless state and yet provided for the religious freedom of the houseless state for those who wanted the same.

(8) According to the Brāhmanical custom of these four Āśramas, one could become a *sannyāsī* only after going through the three early stages. Śaṅkarācarya,

however, permitted everybody to adopt the stage of houselessness at any time he liked. And, apparently, for this he had the authority of *Jābālopaniṣad* (4), which says : *yad ahar eva virajet tad ahar eva pravrajet* : one may go forth into a houseless state the very day he feels disgusted with worldly life. This was a point in favour of the Buddhists.

(9) The new ideal of the life of the compassionate Bodhisattva accepted by the Mahayānists in preference to the ideal of the life of a Buddha advocated by the early Buddhists, and the equation of Nirvāṇa with Saṁsāra by the Mahāyānists led to supplant *nivṛttimārga*, the life of withdrawal, of the early Buddhists, by the *pravṛttimārga*, the life of social activity. The Bodhisattva was prepared to be born again and again and undergo suffering of human life, if he could serve the people and save them from suffering. We find the echo of the same spirit in the works of the Mahārāṣtra saint Tukārāma (17th century A. D.) who says : *Santa-saṅga deī sadā ; Tukā mhaṇe garbhavāsī sukhen ghālāve āmhāsī* : Let me be associated with saints, says Tukā, and then I don't mind if I am subjected to rebirth.

(10) Another effect of the Mahāyānist practice of abstaining from eating meat is noticeable in the present vegetarian diet of many people in India—especially among the Brahmaṇa, except those from Kashmir.

(11) When we come to the period of emergence of modern languages of India, we find the same Buddhist influence in the literatures of many languages. The principle of equality of all the different kinds of people permitting no privilege on the ground of mere birth,

but determining the worth of a man on his own actions is dominantly noticeable in the works of a Telugu writer, Vemana by name, of a Tamil writer Kapilar by name of a Kanarese reformer named Basava, saintly leader of the Lingayats and in the works of the mediaeval saints like Rāmānanda, Caitanya, Kabira, Nānaka, Ekanātha, Tukārāma, etc. (14th-17th century A. D.). Like the Liṅgāyats, the Mahānubāvīs also maintained the same principle.

(12) Following the distinguished nuns like Khemā, Paṭācārā, Dhammadinnā, or notable female house-holders like Sujātā, Visākhā, Sāmāvatī, we have female saint like Mīrābāi, Janābāi and Bāṅkā. the wife of a potter, whom th ·ir weaker sex did not prevent from leading a religious life and composing religious poetry.

(13) *Maṇimekhalai*, a work in Tamil (date uncertain), shows considerable influence of Buddhist logic of Diṅnāga. So also *Vīrasoliyam*, a work on grammar written by a Buddhist author Buddhamitra by name, and *Sivajñānasiddhiyar* of Arulnandi (13th cenury A. D.) betray Buddhist influence. *Kulṇḍakesi-vattu* and *Neelakesī* are poems in Tamil written to present the view of the Buddhists and Jains respectively. The former is now lost and is know from extract reproduced in the Tamil commentary on *Neelakesī*, by a Samaya Divākara Vāmanamuni, olso in Tamil. There is also the mention of *Bimbisārakathā*, a Buddhist poem by a Tamil Paṇḍita.

Dr. Hazariprasāda Dwivediji's works on *Kabira* and *Nāthapantha*, Dharmavīra Bhārati's *Siddha-sāhitya* and Dr. Saralā Triguṇāyat's thesis on "*Madhyakālina Hindi-sāhityapar Bauddhadharm kā prabhāv*" (unfortunately

badly printed) reveal clear evidences of the influence of Buddhism on Hindi literature. The *Sūnya-purāṇa* of Rāmāi Pandit of Bengal condemns the animal sacrifices and speaks highly of the Buddhist Sangha (Śaṅkha), and *Dharma-maṅgala-gāthā* contains the eulogy of the Buddha's Dharma. The literature of the Mahimadharmīs of Orisso contains a mixture of the Śūnyata of Nagarjuna and the Vaishṇavism of Gaitanya. The Uria literature of the Pandits of the 16th century A.D. refer to the Buddha and his Dharma.

Jñaneśvara of Māharastra (13th century A. D.) discusses, in his classic work *Jñāneśvarī*, *Sūnya*, and *Mahāśūnya* and goes to the lenght of saying that it is sanctioned by Vedic texts (*Śrutivacana-sammata* XIII.925 26). Mīrābāi and Janābaī speak of the Buddha as an Avatara of Viṣṇu, which Position was already conceded by *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* I.3,24). Mukundaraja (12th century A.D.) in his *Paramāmṛta* discusses *śūnya* and comes to the conclusion that it is not proper to describe Brahma as *śūnya*. The ecclectic spirit of the Indians is seen when we note that Mukteśvara, another poet of the 17th century A.D., equates the Buddhist goddess Tārā with Gaurī of Śaivites, Vajrādevī of the Tantric Kaulikas Padmavatī of the Jains, Tripada Gayatrī of the orthodox, Vedic followers and Ādi-śakti of the Sāṅkhyas (*Virāṭa-parva* 1.76).

(14) when people go to see the Buddhist monuments like Aśokan pillars, the stūpas of Sanchi, Vāraṇāsī or Kārlā, the caves carved out of rocks, painted as at Ajanthā, or otherwise, the statues of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas found at the excavation of Buddhagaya, Sāranātha, Mathura, Nālanda or similar places of pilgrimage,

it will be noticed that they show as much respect to the Buddhas or Bodhisattvas as they show to Hindu deities.

(15) This spirit of tolerance, spirit of ecclecticism is noted among all devotees. The very fact that the Buddha is given the position of an Avatāra of Viṣṇu is unchallengeable evidence to show love and admiration of the Indian people for the Buddha as aptly expressed in Jayadeva's *Aṣṭapadī* (end of 12th century A.D.) :

Nindasi yajñavidher ahaha śrutijātam
Sadayahṛdaya darśita-paśughātam
Keśavadhṛta-Buddha-śarīra, jaya Jagadīśa Hare.

"O, you, of merciful heart, denounced the Vedic texts supporting the slaughter of animals; O you Keśava who assumed the form of the Buddha' victory to you Hari, the Lord of the Universe !

Thus it will be seen that Indian people have accepted all they thought good of Buddhism and so we may say that they have absorbed Buddhism in their present religion, except perhaps the doctrine of *anātmā*, with which the common people are not much concerned.

F. 16

HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE DĀNASTUTIS OF THE ṚGVEDA

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The Ṛgveda is the most precious treasure bequeathed to us by our ancestors. It is not only the fountainhead of our religion but it also contains extremely valuable material for the reconstruction of our ancient history. Those who in consonance with their belief in its being a divine revelation refuse to accept that it contains historical material also, do a positive harm to their country by depriving it of some of the most glorious characters and colourful events in its history.

A peculiar class of hymns of the Ṛgveda is the one containing dānastutis or praises of gifts conferred by kings and princes on poets. There are about thirty-five hymns of this type in the Ṛgveda. There is one complete dānastuti occurring in the first book (126) in which the sage Kakṣīvant praises the liberality of king Svanaya Bhāvayavya. In most of the other hymns of this class are attached appendices of 3 to 5 stanzas. One dānastuti occurs in Book IV (15, 7-10) and one Book VII (18, 22-25). The remaining dānastutis are found in books V, VI, VIII & X, the number being largest in book VIII. It is interesting to note that despite the conflict between the Aryan and non-Āryan peoples, one of the dānastutis (VI, 45, 31-33) is in praise of a non-

Aryan person named Bṛbu belonging to the race of Paṇis, who conferred gifts on a seer named Śaṁyu Bhāradvāja.

The importance of a dānastuti from the historical point of view is in proportion to the importance of the patron whom it celebrates and the information which it yields about him. Considered from this point of view only about eight dānastutis are important, since they alone yield information which sheds welcome light on the history of the Vedic age, the kings mentioned in them being those who are known to the Purāṇas and epics also. We shall now examine their evidence taking them in a chronological order as determined by the Purāṇic genealogies.

The oldest of these eight dānastutis are the two, occurring in hymn 33 of the fifth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda and in hymn 19 of the eighth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. In the first dānastuti a sage named Saṁvaraṇa of the family of Atri has praised three kings Trasadasyu, Vidatha and Dhvanya for their gifts to him. Trasadasyu is said to have given ten white horses to the ṛṣi, Vidatha is said to have given a number of bay horses to him, while Dhvanya is said to have conferred great wealth on him. Of these kings Dhvanya is unknown to the Purāṇic and epic tradition but the other two can be definitely identified. Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa and grandson of Girikṣit, according to this hymn, is well known in the Purāṇas as a king of the Ikṣvāku dynasty. Vidatha, who according to this hymn bore the title of Mārutāśva, having windswift horses, can be no other than Vidatha, the son of Bharata Dauṣyanti. The

contemporaniety of Trasadasyu and Vidatha as shown in this dānastuti is fully supported by the evidence of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the epic Mahābhārata. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says Dīrghatamas consecrated Bharata.[1] Bharata was probably a young man when he ascended his father's throne whereas Dīrghatamas was a venerable sage who must not have been less than two generations older than him. The Mahābhārata says that Ucathya, the father of Dīrghatamas, instructed Māndhātṛ,[2] which means Māndhātṛ was of the same age as Dīrghatamas. Māndhātṛ was also thus two generations older than Bharata. Bharata thus must have been a contemporary of Māndhātṛ's grandson and Bharata's son Vidatha, a contemporary of Māndhātṛ's great-grandson. Māndhātṛ's son according to the Purāṇas was Purukutsa but the Ṛgveda suggests that two princes named Durgaha and Girikṣita intervened between Māndhātṛ and Purukutsa. Thus, according to the evidence of the Ṛgveda, Purukutsa was a great-grandson of Māndhātṛ. Vidatha was thus a contemporary of Purukutsa and may have lived upto the beginning of the reign of Trasadasyu. The traditions preserved in the Brāhmaṇas, epics and Purāṇas are thus in full agreement with the contemporary evidence of this dānastuti. The other dānastuti occurring in hymn 19 of the eighth maṇḍala praises the gifts of Trasadasyu to another ṛṣi Sobhari Kāṇva. The importance of this is dānastuti lies in the fact that it gives us a clear indication of the region where the early Ikṣvākus ruled. Sobhari Kāṇva has praised Trasadasyu for giving him fifty vadhūs which no doubt means

1. 39, 9.
2. XII, 90.

mares[3] and three herds of seventy cows led by a rare brown bull. These gifts were made by Trasadasyu on the banks of the rivers Prayiyu, Vayiyu and Suvāstu. The only one of these rivers which can be definitely identified is Suvāstu which is the same as the modern Swat. This proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that the early Ikṣvākus ruled in the region to the northwest of the river Indus and must have migrated to Kosala later, probably in the time of Bhagīratha who is regarded as a discoverer of the river Gaṅgā by the Purāṇas.

The next oldest dānastutis are those occurring in hymn 27 of the fifth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda and in hymn 74 of the eighth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. In the first dānastuti a poet of the family of Atri has praised two kings Tryaruṇa and Aśvamedha, for their gifts to him. Tryaruṇa is said to have given a pair of bullocks yoked to a wagon, a pair of horses yoked to a chariot, twenty cows and hundreds of gold pieces to the Ṛṣi, while Aśvamedha is said to have given him a hundred oxen. Of these two kings Aśvamedha is unknown to the Purāṇic and epic tradition but Tryaruṇa is very well known. Tryaruṇa who is called Traivṛṣṇa i. e. son of Trivṛṣan and Trasadasyu that is descendant of Trasadasyu in this hymn, is clearly identical with Trayyaruṇa of the Purāṇas who was son of Tridhanvan and descendant of Trasadasyu according to the Purāṇic genealogy of the Ikṣvākus. There can be no doubt that Trayyāruṇa and Tryaruṇa are variants of the same name and so are Tridhanvan and Trivṛṣan. This dānastuti clear-

3. Roth regards the word *vadhū* as used in the sense of 'female animal' here. Sāyaṇa actually interprets this word as mare in RV VIII, 68, 17.

ly proves that king Tryaruṇa was extremely affluent and his kingdom was exceedingly prosperous. The other dānastuti occurring in hymn 74 of the eighth maṇḍala praises the gifts of four swift horses yoked to a splendid car made to the poet Gopavana Ātreya by a king named Śrutarvan, descendant of Ṛkṣa, probably the Paurava king. This Śrutarvan is undoubtedly identical with a king of the same name mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a contemporary of Bradhnaśva and Trasadasyu.[4] Bradhnaśva is certainly an error for Vadhryaśva and by Trasadasyu is undoubtedly meant Tryaruṇa, for both the Ṛgveda and the Anukramaṇīs prove that he assumed this epithet in imitation of his famous ancestor of this name. These two hymns are thus contemporary productions praising the gifts of contemporary kings. The hymn praising the dānastuti of Śrutarvan however does not merely record the gifts of the king but gives other useful information also about him. We learn from the hymn that the kingdom of Śrutarvan extended upto the river Paruṣṇī and that he sacrificed in the fire of the Ānavas. This clearly means that he conquered the territory of the Ānavas who ruled on the bank of the river Paruṣṇī. This power was however shortlived because the descendants of his contemporary Vadhryaśva, the Tṛtsus, completely eclipsed the Pūru dynasty to which Śrutarvan belonged.

The next three dānastutis are in praise of three kings of the Tṛtsu dynasty. The first of these is the one occurring in hymn 47 of the sixth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. It is in praise of king Divodāsa of the Tṛtsu

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4. III, 98.

dynasty and two of his contemporaries, Prastoka and Aśvattha. Aśvattha is unknown to Purāṇic tradition but the other two can be definitely identified. Divodāsa, the son of Vadhryaśva, was of course a famous king and the poet of this hymn who belonged to the Garga family had praised him for the gift of ten horses, ten purses, ten precious clothes and ten lumps of gold to him. Prastoka was the son of Divodasa's granduncle Sṛnjaya, and is praised for giving to the poet ten purses and ten horses. The difference between the gifts clearly indicates the difference between the position of the two kings.

The second dānastuti landing a king of the Tṛtsu family is the one occurring in the famous hymn 18 of the seventh maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. Here the great ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha after giving a graphic description of the battle in which his patron king Sudās, grandson of Divodāsa, came out victorious against a confederacy of ten kings, praises his gifts. The gifts conferred by Sudās on Vasiṣṭha consisted of two hundred cows and two chariots with mares yoked to them, besides four horses having golden trappings. The gifts prove that Sudās was both a powerful and a generous king.

The third dānastuti landing a prince of this family is the one occurring in hymn 15 of the fourth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. Here the sage Vāmadeva has praised prince Somaka Sāhadevya, grandson of Sudās, for presenting him with a pair of horses. The smallness of the gift was probably due to the fact that the father of Somaka was still alive when he conferred this gift on Vāmadeva and as such his resources were naturally limited as compared with those of a sovereign king. But this probably also proves that the kingdom was no longer as

prosperous as it was in the days of Sudās and his immediate ancestors.

The last dānastuti which we have to consider is the one occurring in hymn 93 of the tenth maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda. In this dānastuti which consists of two verses an unnamed poet glorifies three kings named Duḥśīma, Pṛthavāna Vena, and Rāma in return for getting five hundred and seventy-seven cows from their descendants named Tānva, Pārthya and Māyava. Of these six names Duḥśīma and his descendant Tānva cannot be identified. Pṛthavāna Vena is clearly to be identified with Pṛthu Vainya of the Purāṇas, but who his descendant Pārthya was, it is impossible to say. The third king Rāma is undoubtedly identical with Rāma, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, for no other famous king of this name is known from any ancient Indian work. His descendant Māyava was clearly son of a king named Mayu. The Ikṣvāku genealogies of the Purāṇas mention a king named Maru descended from Rāma. It is quite likely that the correct name of this Maru was Mayu and his son who is known as Prasuśruta in the Purāṇas is praised in this dānastuti.

We thus see that the dānastutis of the Ṛgveda are an extremely valuable source for reconstructing the political history of the Vedic age, since they not only supplement the information which we get from the Purāṇas but also prove that the Purāṇic records of royal dynasties are not just a tissue of falsehoods.

SCOPE OF LAKṢAṆĀ

G. K. BHAT

Poona

(1)

If the primary sense of a word is contradicted, is found incompatible or unsuitable in a particular con'ext, it becomes neces ary to use Lakṣaṇā.[1] But when can we say that the primary sense is incompatible (*bādhita*) ? And, even when the primary sense, being incompatible, is to be modified or rejected, could the secondary sense be taken by some available process other than Lakṣaṇā, or is the Lakṣaṇā process necessarily to be used whenever there is *mukhyārthabādha* ? The answers to these two questions will help to determine the scope of Lakṣaṇā, especialy in the context of literature, although this has not been directly dealt with in Sanskrit Poetics.

(2)

The first of these questions relates to what is known as Rūḍhā Lakṣaṇā, one of the main divisions given by the Rhetoricians. Some words in a language become accepted and are current in a sense which is not their original sense. This current sense must surely have

1. Cf. Mammaṭa, *Kāvyaprakāśa* (KP), II. 9 :
मुख्यार्थबाधे तद्योगे रूढितोऽथ प्रयोजनात् ।
अन्योऽर्थो लक्ष्यते यत् सा लक्षणाऽऽरोपिता क्रिया ।।
Cf. also *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (SD), II. 5.

The Mīmāṁsā view is : तात्पर्यानुपपत्तिः लक्षणा बीजम् ।

come, in the beginning, by the process of Lakṣaṇā. But when such a new sense becomes the accepted or the conventional sense of the word in a language, the Lakṣaṇā behind it is no longer remembered, or the original purpose behind the Lakṣaṇā is altogether lost. Are such words to be treated as Lākṣaṇika or as Vācaka. If such words were treated as Vācaka, that is to say, if their current sense was accepted as their principal sense, they would come under the process of Abhidhā, which determines the primary or principal sense of a word, and Lakṣaṇā would cease to operate in these cases. The real difficulty seems to be in determining the precise dividing line between the primary and the secondary senses of a word. When it can be clearly determined, the secondary sense too is properly distinguished. But when there is no linguistic evidence to determine the original, that is, the conventional, the expressed sense of a word, it is not quite easy to say that the current sense of such a word is either primary or secondary.

The case is illustrated by the example of '*kuśala*' which Mammaṭa has cited in his *Kāvyaprakāśa*[2]. Viśvanātha[3] does not accept *kuśala* as an example of Rūḍhi-Lakṣaṇā. Hemacandra[4] too holds the same view. Mammaṭa believes that kuśala originally meant 'one who cuts darbha grass' ; and since this sense is incompatible in the context of such expressions as '*citra-karmaṇi kuśalaḥ*' ('*skilful* in the work of painting'), Lakṣaṇā becomes necessary[5] : In both these operations, cutting the darbha and painting a picture, the quality

2. KP. II. 9, Vṛtti.
3. SD. II. 5.
4. *Kāvyānuśāsana*, I. 18.
5. KP. II. 9, Vṛtti.

of 'discrimination' is essential ; and this connects the two senses ; further, since the sense '*skilful*' is current in the language, Rūḍhi (currency or accepted convention) provides the necessary justification for this sense. The three conditions under which Lakṣaṇā operates being thus fulfilled, *kuśala* can be taken as a case of Rūḍhi Lakṣaṇā, the sense '*skilful*' being treated as a secondary sense sanctioned by usage[6].

The chief objection of Viśvanātha against Mammaṭa's citation is that 'cutter of darbha' is the etymological sense of *kuśala* ; and the etymological sense is not necessarily the primary or the expressed sense of a word. If it were so, the sense 'bull' (or 'cow') of the word '*gau*' will have to be treated as a secondary sense ; for, *gau*, being der ved from √*gam* to go, denotes a moving object; so that in such an expression as '*gauḥ śete*' (lit., one that moves is sleeping, lying down) the sense would involve an internal contradiction and the sense 'bull' would then have to be taken as a secondary sense using the operation of Lakṣaṇā. This is absurd. Hence, the etymological sense and the current sense of a word must not thus be confused[7].

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(6) *Ibid.* 'कर्मणि कुशल:' इत्यादौ दर्भग्रहणाद्ययोगात्... मुख्यार्थस्य बाधे, विवेचकत्वादौ...सम्बन्धे रूढित: प्रसिद्धे:...मुख्येन अमुख्योऽर्थो लक्ष्यते ।

7. S. D. II. 5, Vṛtti : केचित्तु 'कर्मणि कुशल:' इति रूढौ उदाहरन्ति । तेषामयमभिप्राय:—कुशांल्लाति इति व्युत्पत्तिलभ्य: कुशग्राहिरूपो मुख्योऽर्थ: प्रकृतेऽसम्भवन् विवेचकत्वादिसाधर्म्यसम्बन्धसम्बन्धिनं दक्षरूपमर्थं बोधयति । तदन्ये न मन्यन्ते । कुशग्राहिरूपार्थस्य व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यत्वेऽपि दक्षरूपस्यैव मुख्यार्थत्वात् । अन्यद्धि शब्दानां व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्तं अन्यच्च प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तम् । व्युत्पत्तिलभ्यस्य मुख्यार्थत्वे 'गौ: शेते' इत्यत्रापि लक्षणा स्यात् । 'गमेर्डो:' इति गमधातोर्डोप्रत्ययेन व्युत्पादितस्य गोशब्दस्य शयनकालेऽपि प्रयोगात् ।

Hemachandra does not accept Rūdha-Lakṣaṇā at all, as he believes that, if a current sense of a word (like *kuśala, dvirepha* etc.) is sanctioned by Rūḍhi that really is the conventional sense of such a word, which should be apprehended by the process of Abhidhā[8].

Dr. G. T. Deshpande expresses his agreement with Viśvanātha's criticism of Mammaṭa. He writes: The particular words may have been used according to the process of Lakṣaṇā in the past. But their (secondary) senses are now current and accepted in usage. So, the process of import behind such words must be taken to be Abhidhā (based on Rūḍhi) and not Lakṣaṇā. If Lakṣaṇā were used here, it will be only in virtue of the etymological sense; but in that case the conventional sense of words like *lāvaṇya, maṇḍapa, taila* will have to be treated as secondary sense'. This is an unnecessary encroachment on the field of Rūḍdhi Abhidhā; and moreover, it nullifies the natural sanction of linguistic usage. In determining the sense of a word, it is not etymology but accepted usage that ought to receive our accord[9].

The point of all this criticism is correct. But the important question is whether 'the picker of darbha' is the etymological sense of *Kuśala* or whether it is also the real primary sense of that word, so that '*Kusala*' is an example of Yoga–abhidhā (conventional meaning based

8. In fact Hemacandra does not recognise Rūḍhi Lakṣaṇā. Cf. कुशलद्विरेफद्विकादयस्तु साक्षात् संकेतितविषयत्वात् मुख्या एव, इति न रूढिः अस्माभिः हेतुत्वेन उक्ता। *Kāvyānuśāsana*, I. 18, Vṛtti (Second Revised ed., Bombay 1965 ; P. 46).

9. Dr. G. T. Deshpande, *Bhāratiya Sāhityaśāstra* (Marathi), P. 155.

on etymology) ? Mammaṭa's intention is not clear: But if he is equating the etymological and primary senses, the criticism made above will be quite justified.

However, Mammaṭa's writing does not suggest that he is making a confusion between etymology (*vyutpatti*) and usage (*pravṛtti*). He is quite aware of the three aspects of denotative process (*abhidhā*), by which a word is used in a conventional fixed sense (*rūḍhi*), where the sense acquired is identical with the etymology (*yoga*), and where usage fixes one of several senses possible by etymology (*yoga-rūḍhi*). This means that Mammaṭa clearly recognises the distinction between the etymological sense of a word and the sense which usage fixes for it[10]. Mammata does not give the subdivisions of Abhidhā in his *Kāvyaprakāsa*, but Visvanātha has given them. And the word '*taila*' (oil) to which Dr. Deshpande objects as an instance of Lakṣaṇā is actually given by Viśvanātha as illustrating one of the varieties (Gauṇī) Upādana Sāropa and Sādhyavasānā) of Lakṣaṇā ! Obviously Visvanātha is confusing Yoga-abhidhā and Rūḍhaabhidhā : in the former the etymological and primary senses are identical; in the latter they are quite different. '*Kuśala*' really falls under Yoga-abhidhā and Viśvanātha's '*gauḥ*' is an example of Rūḍha Abhidhā.

In view of this it would be incorrect, I think, to critcise Mammaṭa's example of '*Kuśala*'. We must understand a clear possiblity that the word '*Kuśala*' might have been current in its etymological sense some time

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10. Cf. Mammaṭa's refusal, to recognise :
'गौः अनुबन्ध्यः' = as a case of Upādāna Lakṣaṇā, KP, II. 10, Vṛtti.

(a case of Yoga–abhidhā) and then it acquired the new sense of 'skilful': This is a clear case of Lakṣaṇā, in which however, the secondary sense acquires currency and the original sense and the purpose of Lakṣaṇā are completely lost sight of. This is no doubt, difficult to prove. But then, what proof can be furnished for Viśvanātha's example of '*Kaliṅga*' as a Lakṣṇā ? Could it not be argued that a word may have several conventional senses, one of which receives the sanction of usage ? A word denoting a country is often used to denote its people. And if so, '*Kaliṅga*' does not illustrate Lakṣaṇā but is a case of Rūḍha abhidhā only ?

The significant point in this discussion is that of demarcating the spheres of Rūdha Abhidhā and Rūdha Laksanā. The demarcation is quite easy when Language preserves the evidence of actual use of a word in etymological-primary and secondary senses. In absence of such evidence, a difference of opinion may be inevitable. Even then, there is no point in questioning Mammaṭa's example; first because, Viśvanāthā's own examples of Lakṣaṇā (*taila*, *Kaliṅga*) can be challenged; and secondly because a writer of Mammata's standing would not give a wrong example and confuse the basic principle. The principle involved here is the distinction that must necessarily be made between the etymological sense of a word and its conventional sense fixed by usage. As long as the two are not confused, Abhidhā and Lakṣanā will have their distinct spheres of operation. Whatever the etymology of a word, if it is used in a fixed. conventional sense only it is a case for Abhidhā based on rūdhi. But if language preserves the evidence of two distinct denotations of a word—the first being etymologi-

cal-primary, the other being secondary, though sanctioned by usage—then this is a clear case for the operation of Lakṣaṇā. In the first case, Lakṣaṇā need not encroach on the field of Abhidhā.

(3)

Mukulabhaṭṭa[11] gives two examples of Lakṣaṇā, which Mammaṭa rejects. The argument involved here sheds further light on the scope of Lakṣaṇā.

'Gauḥ anubandhyaḥ' is a Vedic statement enjoining the slaughtering of a bull for sacrificial purpose. The word *'go'* (bull) denotes a class (*jāti*) primarily, being a generic class term. Now, the class (bull-ness) cannot be slaughtered; but at the same time the Śruti injunction too cannot be violated. The way out of this dilemma is to take the word *'gauḥ'* as denotative of an individual bull.

This sense of an individual bull (*go-vyakti*) cannot be had by Abhidhā. As per rule Abidhā functions once only[12]; and when it has given the sense of class, *go-tva* which is in the relation of an attribute to the sense of individual, *go-vyakti*, it ceases. In other words, Abhidhā cannot give two denotations of *'go'* : *go-tva* (attributive

11. See KP. II. 10 ff. Professor Gajendragadkar (KP. second ed August 1959, Bombay) refers these to Mukulabhaṭṭa (Notes, p. 190). Pt. Zalkikar (BORI ed. 7th, 1965, p. 44) refers the first to Maṇḍanamiśra.

12. See K P. II. 10, Vṛtti, and the quoted principle विशेष्यं नाभिधा गच्छेत् क्षीणशक्तिर्विशेषणे । Cf. also शब्दबुद्धिकर्मणां विरम्य व्यापाराभाव: । quoted by SD. at II. 13, Vṛtti ; also quoted by Locana on *Dhvanyāloka*. The rule is that Abhidhā expressing the conventional and fixed meaning of a word functions only once.

class sense) and *go-vyakti*, (the substantive sense, 'a bull characterised by the class attribute 'bull-ness').

Now, since the conventional, fixed sense of '*go*' (*go-tva*) is incompatible in the expression '*gauḥ anubandhyaḥ*', and since Abhidhā cannot be used again, Lakṣaṇā must be brought in. According to Mukulabhaṭṭa Lakṣaṇā will yield the sense of 'an individual bull' here. The secondary sense (*go-vyakti*) is connected with the primary sense (*go-tva*) by the attribute–substantive relation. The condition of Lakṣaṇā (incompatibility of conventional meaning, and connection between primary and secondary senses) are thus fulfilled. Further, *go-tva* being an essential attribute of the individuals falling in this class, the primary sense (*go-tva*) is included in the secondary sense (*go-vyakti*) ; and this then is a case of 'Upādāna Lakṣaṇā' or Inclusive Indication.

Mammaṭa objects to this Lakṣaṇā on the ground that the third condition, namely the sanction of Rūḍhi or the justification by Prayojana which a Lakṣaṇā must fulfill, is not carried out here. Generic terms like '*go*' are accepted by convention (*saṁketa*) as denotative of class only ; the sense of 'an individual of the class' has no sanction of convention or usage ; '*go*' means the 'class of bulls', not an 'individual bull' according to usage ; and so, this particular Lakṣaṇā cannot be explained by Rūḍhi.

It cannot be justified by Prayojana or purpose too. In a Lakṣaṇā by Prayojana, it is generally suggested that the secondary sense possesses the special attributes of the primary sense. For example in using the Lakṣaṇā '*Gaṅ-*

gāyāṁ ghoṣaḥ' (there is a hamlet on the Ganges), the purpose is to suggest that coolness, holiness, which are really the attributes of the primary sense, Ganges (meaning the river, or river-stream), are eminently associated with the secondary sense, the river-bank (*Tīra, taṭa*) (which is the actual site of the hamlet[13]). The purpose, thus it seems, involves the transference of attributes from the primary to the secondary sense[14] on the basis of an assumed identity between the two senses. This is impossible in the present case. For, the principal or primary sense, *go-tva*, is itself of the nature of an attribute, a characteristic of the class ; and a characteristic has no further characteristics, an attributes has no attributes ; and so, as the primary sense has no attributes, the questions of their transference to the secondary sense does not arise at all. The lack of Prayojana prevents the Lakṣaṇā in this case.

However, the sense of 'individual bull' (*go-vyakti*) is essential for the statement to be meaningful ; and if Lakṣaṇā cannot yield this sense, it is necessary to think of some other process. The internal contradiction in the statement cannot be denied. Mammaṭa contends that the secondary sense is better taken here by the process of *ākṣepa* or deductive inference. The relation between a 'class' and the 'individuals' comprising it is that of

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13. And then, by transference, in the hamlet itself which is situated on the river bank.

14. See K. P. Vṛtti on II. 10. अनयोर्लक्ष्यस्य लक्षकस्य च न न भेदरूपं ताटस्थ्यम् । तटादीनां गङ्गादिशब्दैः प्रतिपादने तत्त्वप्रतिपत्तौ हि प्रतिपिपादयिषितप्रयोजनसंप्रत्ययः ।

invariable concomitance[15]: Without the essential attribute of a class, an 'individual' cannot be imagined to exist; nor can a 'class' exist without the individuals that constitute it. That is how *'go-vyakti'* can be easily deduced from *'go-tva'*. Consider, for instance, the following statements: When some one says, 'Let this be done', the listener immediately asks a mental question 'by whom?' and supplies the notion of 'an agent' of the action; '(You) do this'—leads to the notion of some piece of 'work' (as the object of the action); 'Enter'-leads to 'the house'; 'A ball of sweet'—leads to 'eat'. In all these instances, the required word and sense to complete the import of the statement are supplied easily by a simple deductive process of reasoning. In the same way, the scriptural injunction *'gauḥ anubandhyaḥ'* can be easily understood to mean that 'a bull is to be sacrificially slaughtered'.

The view expressed by Mammaṭa here implies two very important points: In the first place, it is suggested that a mere incompatibility or contradiction of meaning (*mukhyārthabādha*) is no excuse to rush in Lakṣaṇā. It is not enough even that the primary and secondary senses are mutually connected (*tad-yoga*). The real sanction of Lakṣaṇā is provided either by accepted usage (*Rūḍhi*) or by suggestive purpose (*Prayojana*). The operation of Lakṣaṇā has to be restricted therefore in appropriate cases.

Secondly, if the primary and secondary senses are related by an invariable concomitance, it is advisable to

15. *Ibid.* व्यक्त्यविनाभावित्वात् तु जात्या व्यक्तिः आक्षिप्यते । यथा क्रियतामित्यत्र कर्ता । कुरु इत्यत्र कर्म । प्रविश, पिण्डीम् इत्यादौ गृहम् भक्षय इत्यादि च ।

use the simple process of deductive inference to arrive at the secondary sense, rather than the elaborate procedure of Lakṣaṇā. Mammaṭa has made the point more explicit in his comment on the Mīmāmsaka view of Gauṇī Lakṣaṇā. The Mīmāmsakas hold Lakṣaṇā and Guṇavṛtti to be distinct processes : the former (which is the Rhetorician's Śuddhā Lakṣaṇā) is defined as 'the apprehension of a (secondary) sense invariably connected with the denotative sense', and the Guṇavṛtti (that is, the Gauṇī Lakṣaṇā) is the apparent identity of the primary and secondary senses based on the close relation of similarity between the attributes of the two senses, as illustrated in '*Māṇavakaḥ agniḥ*. All this is acceptable to the Rhetorician except that he regards Guṇavṛtti as a division of Lakṣaṇā based on the relation of similarity between the two senses. Now, the point here is the use of the phrase '(the secondary sense), invariably connected (*avinābhūta*) with the primary sense' in the definition of Lakṣaṇā. Mammaṭa explains that '*avinābhāva*', invariable relation', in this context, must be taken to mean 'close relation' only, and not the invariable concomitance, which is understood in the Naiyāyika *vyāpti* : The reason is obvious. If the mutual relation between the primary and secondary senses were an invariable concomitance, in statements like 'the sofas clamour' (*mañcāḥ krośanti*) Lakṣaṇā will have no scope. The relation between the primary sense (*mañca*-a sofa) and the secondary sense (*mañcasthāḥ bālāḥ*-kids sitting on the sofa) is not that of invariable concomitance but a mere conjunction ; and so according to the Mīmāmsaka view, understood literally, Lakṣaṇā cannot be used here to arrive at the secondary sense. On the contrary, in expressions like '*gauḥ anubandhyaḥ*' and 'Enter—', 'the sweet ball—' etc. Lakṣaṇā has

no use as the secondary or the implied sense is easily given by deductive inference. It is therefore necessary to understand that the connection between the primary and the secondary senses is that of a simple relation of some kind and not an invariable concomitance.

The conclusion of this discussion is that Inference (Immediate or Mediate, where invariable relation is essential) need not encroach on the field of Lakṣaṇā; nor need Lakṣaṇā operate in a sphere when the simple deductive Inference can yield the required sense.

(4)

Another instance of Lakṣaṇā supposed to be cited by Mukulabhaṭṭa is '*pīnaḥ Devadattaḥ divā na bhuṅkte*': Devadatta though well-fed does not eat by day. 'Well-fed' and 'does not eat by day' create an internal inconsistency, a contradiction of meaning, which can be removed by taking the secondary sense 'eats at night'. The primary sense (absence of meal by day) and the secondary sense (eating at night) may be taken to be connected by a sort of cause-effect relation; and since the idea of 'eating' is partially included in the secondary sense, this is a case of Upādāna Lakṣaṇā. The Lakṣaṇā can be justified by a prayojana: the purpose being to explain the astounding fact of fatness on the one hand and absense of eating by day on the other. According to Mukulabhaṭṭa this is a clear case of Lakṣaṇā, as all the conditions of the Indicative process are fulfilled.

Mammaṭa rejects this Lakṣaṇā on the groud that the apparent contradiction in the statement can be easily explained by simply assuming the fact of 'eating at night'. The perceptive proof that operates here is

Assumption or Presumption, which the Mīmāmsakas accept. It is the assumption of another idea or sense in order to remove the apparent inconsistency in a statement.[16] The assumption may be made on perceiving an apparently contradictory fact; or on hearing a statemen of such a fact. In the former, the assumption is mental. In the latter it is verbal[17]. In this particular case, the idea of 'eating at night' can be simply assumed either mentally or stated in so many words in order to remove the apparent contradiction. Mammaṭa semes to believe that the simple process of presumption makes the elaborate and complicated procedure of Lakṣaṇā quite unnecessary.

Prof. Gajendragadkar objects to Mammaṭa's view mainly on two grounds: The conditions of Lakṣaṇā are fulfilled in this instance; and as such there is no sense in rejecting the Lakṣaṇā. Further, the presumption as a proof of perceptive knowledge is accepted by Mīmamsakas; a Rhetorician like Mukulabhaṭṭa may not accept it; and so, there is no point in throwing this Jñānapramāṇa

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16. Cf. the Mīmāmsaka view : दृष्टः श्रुतः वा अर्थः अन्यथा न उपपद्यते इति अर्थान्तरकल्पना अर्थापत्तिः। Arthāpatti is " ostulating something to account for what apparently clashes with experience and is therefore in the nature of hypothesis." (See Gajendragadkar, KP. *op. cit.*, Notes, p. 193).

17. Kumārila recognises Arth-patti to be of two kinds : Dṛṣṭa and Śruta, Mental assumption of an idea or verbal expression of the necessary word. Prabhākara recognises only the former. Cf. Zalkikar, KP. *op. cit.*, P. 45 : भट्टमते दिवाभोजनाभाववतः पीनत्वं रात्रिभोजनं विना अनुपपन्नम्, इति अनुपपत्त्या 'रात्रौ भुङ्क्ते' इति शब्दः कल्प्यते। गुरुमते तु तदर्थमात्रं कल्प्यते।

at him. This, therefore, is a clear case of Lakṣaṇā and Mammaṭa's argument is quite irrelevant[18].

Now is it a question of using a particular Jñānapramāṇa? I do not think that the criticism of Mammaṭa is directed to such a point. As a matter of fact, the Rhetoricians have made convenient use of several branches of scientific knowledge and have borrowed ideas or principles from Grammar, Nyāya, Vedānta. There is no reason why they should fight shy of Mīmāmsā if it were helpful to them. For, the Rhetorician's principal concern is or ought to be with literature. Literature is rooted in the life of the people; and language, which is the medium of literary expression, is not a creation of scientists but a fact of actual life. It cannot ignore the conduct and usage of people who continuously use it. If, therefore, a particular sense were easily available by a simple process of reasoning, why should any science or system impose its complicated technique and demand a formal compliance? If an invariable relation leads to an immediate inference of fact, we are prepared to dispense with the elaborate procedure of examination of every step till the conclusion is reached, as it happens in the application of Lakṣaṇā. In a similar manner, if the sense of 'eating at night' is possible by a simple assumption, why should we hesitate to accept it? A person using language and doing his ordinary thinking does not bother about the particular perceptive process he is consciously or unconsciously using. His concern is to reach a satisfactory reasoning and if he could do it simply, it is no use recommending him an elaborate procedure, which after all leads to the same reasoning.

18. Gajendragadkar, KP. *op. cit.*, p. 194.

This, I think, appears to be Mammaṭa's ground in rejecting the particular Lakṣaṇā. And considering the sphers of language and literature where he is using this reasoning, and which sphere cannot be divorced from life, Mammaṭa, I am inclined to think, is quite right in barring Lakṣaṇā where Presumption yields the secondary sense.

(5)

The conclusion that this discussion leads to may be put down as under:

(i) If language preserves the evidence of two senses of a word, notwithstanding that the primary sense is identical with the etymological sense, and that the secondary sense has, later, become the conventional sense, the word or expression should be taken as a case of Rūḍhā Lakṣaṇā.

However, if the conventional sense of a word is the only sense accepted in usage, although etymology may not endorse it, this should be taken as the sphere of Rūḍhi Abhidhā.

Rūḍhā Lakṣaṇā, thus, may not encroach on the field of Rūḍhā Abhidhā. The mere fact, of difference between the etymological and the current sense of a word is no ground for using Lakṣaṇā; the test ultimately is the language and literature of the people.

(ii) Where *avinābhāva*, concomitance, or a close relation exists, it is Inference (immediate or mediate) that will yield the required sense. Here also Lakṣaṇā need not step in.

(iii) Simple Assumption or Presumption when available, should bar the operation of Lakṣaṇā.

(iv) Mere *mukhyārtha-bādha* does not necessarily involve Lakṣaṇā, especially in language and literature, which can make easy use of other simple processes, like Inference or presumption.

This is not to suggest that Lakṣaṇā has only a limited scope. On the contrary, the rhetorical figures based on similarity are entirely due to metaphorical usage or the process of Lakṣaṇā. In fact, *vakrokti*, [19] which is at the base of poetic expression itself, is a result of Lakṣaṇā process.

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19. As Bhāmaha understands the term : Cf. *Kāvyālaṅkāra*, II. 85 :

सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यः कोऽलङ्कारोऽनया विना ॥

This is referred to and commented on by Ānandavardhana, *Dhvanyāloka*, III. 37. ff. Abhinava writes on this passage as under :

यातिशयोक्तिर्लक्षिता सैव सर्वा वक्रोक्तिः अलंकार प्रकारः सर्वः ।
'वक्राभिधेय शब्दोक्तिः इष्टा वाचाम् अलंकृतिः' इति वचनात् ।

HARI-ŚĀSTRI BHĀGAVATA (*Circa* 1811-1898) HIS DATE AND WORKS

M. S. BHAT
Bombay

While giving a brief survey of the attainments and contributions of the grammarians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the Pāṇinian grammar, Professor K. V. Abhyankar[1] takes no notice of Hari-Śāstri Bhāgavata and his contributions in the form of commentaries to Nāgeśabhaṭṭa's works. No doubt, this deficiency was to some extent remedied in his later publication.[2] According to him, Hari-Śāstri "lived in the first half of the eighteenth century"[3] and wrote a commentary named वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका on the परिभाषेन्दुशेखर of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa. To be fair to Prof. Abhyankar, I must concede that elsewhere in the same publication[4] he assigns him to the nineteenth century. I must state here that Prof. Abhyankar's information was limited to our author's वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका[5]. In order to remove the stigma of uncer-

1. *Prastāvanākhaṇḍa*, i. e. *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali with Marathi translation, Vol. VII, Poona, 1954.

2. *Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar* by K. V. Abhyankar, Baroda, 1961.

3. Ibid., (*s. v.* भागवत हरिशास्त्री), p. 270.

4. Ibid., (*s. v.* हरिशास्त्री भागवत), p. 413.

5. I will not be surprised if it turns out that Professor Abhyankar knew barely the title of the work and nothing more. Compare the account of Bhairava-miśra in the *Prastāvanākhaṇḍa* pp. 24-25 with that in the *Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 275. In the latter publication he veered to my view (*vide* IHQ, Vol. XXXV, 1959, pp. 76-78). Mm. V. S. Abhyankar assigned 1780 A. D. to Bhairava Miśra; see *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha*, Poona 1951, p. 572.

tainty surrounding the author, his date and his works, an attempt is made in the following pages to present whatever data supplied by the writings of Hari-Śāstri himself and those that can be gleaned from the writings of his immediate disciples and admirers.

Our scholiast hailed from Bhīmakrośapālam, a hamlet near Dākshārāmam in the East Godavari District of the Andhra Pradesh and was born in about the year 1811 A. D.[6] He was the son of Bhāskarasūrī Bhāgavata.[7] The title Sūrī suggests that he was a learned man. The writer of the introduction to the चित्रप्रभा states that Hari-Śāstri finished his Vedic studies in the fourteenth year under Svayampākala Lakṣminārāyaṇaśāstri. Later, he studied Kāvyas under Kaipu Narasiṁhaśāstri. Subsequently he proceeded to Banaras for studying Vyākaraṇa-śāstra. He studied it for fourteen years under Kāśinatha-śāstri whom he praised in most extravagent terms in the preface and colophon of his works.

(a) काशिनाथपदाम्भोजं कलयन् मानसे हरिः ।
विवृणोति यथाबुद्धि परिभाषेन्दु शेखरम् ।।
(Preface to the वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका)

(b) काशिनाथकटाक्षेन्दोरेषा वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका ।
समुल्लासंयतां नित्यं सतां मानसकैरवम् ।।

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6. *Chitraprabhā*, a commentary on Haridīkṣita's *Laghuśabdaratna* by Hari Sāstri Bhāgavata (AUS No. 6), Waltair, 1932, intro. p. 1. The introduction is a valuable one and I have utilised it fully.

7. (a) इति...भागवतोपनामक भास्करसूरितनुजन्मना हरिशास्त्रिणा...
(b) इति... भागवतोपनामक भास्करसूरितनुजन्मना हरिशर्मणा...

8. *vide supra.* f. n. 6.

इति . . . काशिनाथविद्वन्महोपाध्यायचरणकमलसेवासम्प्राप्तविद्यो-
पहितेन . . . हरिशास्त्रिणा . . . परिभाषेन्दुशेखरव्याख्या सम्पूर्ति-
मगमत् ।

(Colophon to the वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका)

(c) श्रीकाशिनाथगुरुवरकारुण्यमयेन परिकरेण हरिः ।
वितनोति शब्दरत्नव्याख्यां चित्रप्रभाभिख्याम् ॥

(Preface to the चित्रप्रभा)

(d) श्रीकाशिनाथविबुधाङ्घ्रिसरोजसेवासम्प्राप्तबुद्धिबलकृतोरुयत्ने ।
चित्रप्रभा समुदपद्यत शब्दरत्ने सैषा चिरं वितनुतां विदुषां प्रमोदम् ॥
इति . . . श्रीकाशीनाथविद्वन्महोपाध्यायचरणकमलसेवा-समधिगत-
विद्याविशेषोपहितेन . . . हरिशर्मणा . . . शब्दरत्नव्याख्यायां
कारकप्रकरणं सम्पूर्तिमगमत् ।

(Colophon to the चित्रप्रभा)

Kāśinātha-śāstri referred to above is none other than Kāśinātha Śāstri Aṣṭaputre[9] who flourished in the first half of the nineteenth century and who attained inconceivable greatness and illustrious fame as a sole scholar in Banaras (काश्यामेकः काशिनाथो मनीषी).[10] Professor Abhyankar, however, gives rather a prosaic and insipid line 'पण्डितेषु काश्यामेकः काशिनाथः'.[11] Kāśinātha-śāstri must have been a remarkable man for all his pupils distinguished themselves. Hari-śastri's fellow students were Rajārama-śastri and Yāgeśa Paṇḍiṭ.[12] The former whose full name is Rajārāma-śāstri Karlekar (1810-1875) distinguished himself as a Professor of Dharmaśāstra and

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9. *Prastāvanā khaṇḍa*, p. 31.
10. *Chitraprabhā*, Sanskrit intro. p. 5.
11. *vide supra*, f. n. 9.
12. *Chitraprabhā*, intro p. 2.

served Banaras Sanskrit College for twenty years (1854-1874).[13]

Mahārāja Vijayarāma Gajapatirāja, the Mahārāja of Vijayanagaram, who admired the scholarly attainments of Hariśāstri sanctioned a scholarship of the monthly value of Rs. 25 to him for two years and later on made him a court-Paṇḍit. Hari-śāstri paid a rich tribute to the liberality of his patron in the introductory verses of the वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका--

जयति श्री महाराजः कलिङ्ग वसुधाधिपः ।
सूर्यवंशसुधासिन्धु स्फुरत्पूर्णक्षपाधिपः ।।
राजद्विजयरामाख्या विख्यातामित विक्रमः ।
वनीपकमनोभीष्टविश्राणनसुरद्रुमः ।।
वदीयागण्यकारुण्यप्राप्ताभीष्टश्रिया मया ।
प्रणीयते निबन्धोऽयं प्राप्नुतात्तद्योशोदिशः ।।

(Preface to the वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका)

In the colophon to the वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका Hari-śāstri styles himself as the आस्थानपण्डित of the Mahārāja Vijayarāma Gajapatirāja Mahārāja of Vijayanagaram.

Kolluru Kāma-śāstri,[14] the editor of the वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका states in his Sanskrit introduction that Hari-śastri was the Sanskrit teacher of Mahārāja Ānanda Gajapatirāja, the son and successor of Mahārāja Vijayarāma Gajapatirāja. It was Mahārāja Ānanda Gajapatirāja who bore the entire publication expenses of the वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका. Hari-śāstri amply acknowledged the munificence of his patron in the introductory verse to the next work

13. *Prastāvanā khaṇḍa*, p. 32.

14. *Vakyārthacandrikā*, ed. by Kolluru Kāma-śāstri, Banaras, 1887.

of his viz. चित्रप्रभा, a commentary on Hari-dīkṣita's लघुशब्दरत्नम्—

> जयतु महाराजेन्द्रः श्रीमानानन्दगजपतिमहीन्द्रः ।
> क्रियतेऽयमिह निबन्धः तत्कीर्तिसुधांशु बलवदनुबन्धः ॥

It is reported[15] that Hari-śāstri wrote another work entitled रत्नापणः, a commentary on Nāgeśabhaṭṭa's लघुशब्देन्दुशेखरः. Judging from the other works of Hari-śastri, this work too deserves to be published when the manuscript of the रत्नापणः becomes available. After serving as court-Paṇḍit under both the Mahārājas, Vijayarāma Gajapatirāja and Ānanda Gajapatirāja for two decades, Hari-śāstri retired to a place named Koṭipalli in the East Godavari District of the Andhra Pradesh where he breathed his last in 1898.[16]

Hari-śāstri devoted major part of his life teaching Vyākaraṇa-śāstra and expounding Nāgeśa-bhaṭṭa's works. The commentaries of Hari-śāstri are certainly very learned and meritorious and are, no doubt, most valuable additions to the library. The style is very easy and the expressions are peculiarly his own. Wherever Hari-śāstri, a protogonist of post-Nageśabhaṭṭa school of Grammarians, does not agree with the adherents of Nāgeśa-bhaṭṭa, he gives argumentative refutations, in which he appears to be decidedly superior to his opponents. It is in fitness of things that I must conclude this paper with a verse appreciative of वाक्यार्थचन्द्रिका current among the contemporaries of Hari-śāstri:

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15. *Chitraprabhā*, intro. p. 3.
16. *ibid*, p. 3.

संजीव्यन्ते यदपि च मृतास्तद्धि संजीवनी स्या-
द्वृत्तेर्ज्ञाप्या हृदयवसतेश्चेतना सा च वाचः ।
सा निर्दोषस्फुटदवयवा स्याद्यया व्याकृतिः सा
संजीवन्या अपि निगदिता कापि संजीवनीयम् ॥[17]

17. *Vakyārtha-candrikā*, Sanskrit intro. p. 1.

PUNISHMENT OF THEFT IN THE *DAṆḌAVIVEKA*

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA

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The *Daṇḍaviveka* of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya of Mithilā, composed in the second half of the 15th century, is a unique digest on Criminal Law, the auothor having been a judge of the then reigning King, Bhairava. It contains seven chapters, viz. theory and practice of punishment, murder, theft, molestation of other men's wives, abuse, assault and some other unspecified offences. The Sanskrit text was published in 1931 in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. LII, under the editorship of the late Mm. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha. The present writer undertook an English translation of the work, the text portion of which has already been printed off under the anspices of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta and the Introduction and Index are now passing through the press. We propose to describe in this paper the treatment of theft and its punishment in this work.

Theft has been differentiated from *sāhasa* or rash act and thieves have first been subdivided into *prakāśa-taskara* (overt thieves) and *aprakāśa-taskara* (covert thieves), the element of secrecy being absent with that of force being present in the former class. The merchant or the business man is of two kinds, viz. (a) a shopkeeper and (b) a manufacturing trade. The latter class inclu-

des a goldsmith and a leather worker. The above two classes may be either stationary or peripatetic. *Aprakāśa-taskaras* are also called *pracchanataskaras* (i.e. surreptitious cheats), who may be of eight classes, viz. (a) the hole-digger in a man's house, (b) the stealer of a traveller's purse, (c) the kidnapper of human beings, (d) the stealer of quadrupeds, (e) the stealer of movable property from the very eyes of its guards, (f) the knot-cutter of unwary persons, (g) the usurper of grains and (h) the stealer of miscellaneous things.

The punishments of the above several classes of offenders, which may be either fine or forfeiture of property, mutilation of one or both the hands or imprisonment, vary according to caste, age, pecuniary, condition, and other special circumstances of the culprit, who should be reclaimed as a useful member of the society.

For other details, readers are referred to the forthcoming English translation of the *Daṇḍaviveka*.

IDENTIFICATION OF A CITATION IN UDBHAṬA'S BHĀMAHA VIVARAṆA FRAGMENTS

BISHWANATH BHATTACHARYA
Santiniketan

The present resarch paper has to be treated as an annexe to our earliei article already published in the pages of this esteemed journal[1]. In the second part of our original article[2] an attempt has been made to identify the syllabic remains of a verse found in Udbhaṭa's Bhāmaha-vivaraṇa fragments.[3] We have seen there that the same verse has becn quoted in full with some minor variants by Abhainavagupta, Vidyākara, Śrīdhara-dāsa, Śobhākaramitra, Narendraprabha, Sāyaṇa and Vallabhadeva. King Gopendra Tripurahara cited the first 10 syllables of the selfsame verse. This identification has also been followed by a critical ālaṇkārika appraisal.

Now, the aim of the present annexe is to record the results of our further investigations into the matter. Thus the same verse has been located by use in three other Alaṇkāɪa-śāstra texts. Someśvara quotes the

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1. <<Identification of Two Citations in Udbhaṭa,s Bhāmaha—vivaraṇa Fragments >>, Vol. XXVII, Parts 1—2, Jan. —April, 1971, Pp. 41—51.

2. Op. cit. , pp. 45—51.

3. Op. cit. , p. 42.

quatrain in full whereas Māṇikyacandra and Amaracandra cite the first 10 syllables of 'b' only. These three ālaṅkārikas refer to the same verse while illustrating *kriyā-yoge lakṣaṇā*. The relevant excerpts are given below :—

(i) *Someśvara* ......kriyā-yogāt kārya-kāraṇa-yogād yathā—

Pṛthur asi guṇair mūrtyā Rāmo Nalo Bharto bhavān mahati samare Śatrughnas tvaṁ tathā Janakaḥ sthiteḥ iti sucaritaiḥ khyātiṁ bibhrac cirantana-bhūbṛtāṁ katham asi na Māṁdhātā deva tri-loka-vijayy api......

[Saṃketa on Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-pakāśa* ed. R. C. Parikh, First Part, Rājasthāna Purātana Grantha-mala No. 46, Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1959, Ullāsa II, pp. 16–17]

The afore-cited verse may be judged in the context of the critical collation already done by us in our previous research paper).[4] It is quite apparent that Someśvara's quotation tallies mostly with Narendraprabha's.

(ii) *Māṇikyacandra*...kriyā-yogād yathā–mahati samare Śatrughnas tvam iti.

[Saṁketa on Mammaṭa's *Kāvya-prakāśa* ed. R. Shyama Sastry, University of Mysore, Oriental Library Publication, Sanskrit Series, No. 60, Mysore, 1922, Ullāsa II, pp. 27–28]

(iii) *Amaracandra*:···kriyā-yogād yathā— mahati samare Śatrughnas tvam iti.

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4. Op. cit· , p. 47, f. —n. 4.

[Kāvya-kalpa-latā vṛtti with Sūtras (Text) of Arisiṁha,.......ed. Jagaṇnath Sastri Hoshing, Kashi Sanskrit Series (Haridāsa-Saṁskṛta Grantha-mālā), No. 90 (Alaṅkāra Section, No. 4), Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Benaras City, 1931, pratāna II, Stabaka 4, pp. 43–44]

However, the *kritische Beobachtungen* of our original article in respeet of the alaṅkāras in the verse in question remain unchanged.

ON THE PRAKRIT SOURCES OF CERTAIN INDIAN POPULAR TALE TYPES AND TALE MOTIFS

H. C. BHAYANI

Ahmedadad.

That classical Indian Literature is the richest and most fundamental source for the historical-comparative study of folk-tales is now a matter of common knowledge. Quite valuable work has been done so far in exploring Indian classical works from this point of view. But scholars have little realized that there is a serious gap in their efforts in this area. As compared to the Sanskrit and Pali sources on the one hand and the Modern Indian sources on the other, sufficient attention has not been paid to the Prakrit sources, in spite of the fact that the latter are probably the richest, and of immediate relevance to the Indian as well as the Comparative folklorist. For many well-known tale-types and tale-motifs current in India and abroad, we find corresponding Prakrit versions that possess some unique historical singificance: either they are the earliest known versions (any Sanskrit version being unknown or clearly secondary), or they are closer and more akin in form and content to the Late Medieval and Modern versions as against the earlier Sanskrit versions. Here it is proposed to illustrate this point by discussing just a few of hundreds of interesting instances.

The tales discussed here are as follows:
1. The Magic Bird Heart (Type 567). 2. The Danced-out Shoes (Type 306) 3. What Should I Have Done (Type 1696, Motif J 2461). 4. Cinderella (Type 510). 5. Clever Retribution (Motif J 1160). 6. Candana-Malayāgirī. 7. The Patridge in the Cart (Motif of Clever Retorts—J 1511-17).[1]

1. *The Magic Bird Heart* (*Type*567)

The wide-spread tale of the wanderings and vicissitudes of fortune of two brothers called 'The Magic Bird-Heart' by the Western folk-lorists[2] (=Aarne and Thompson's Tale Type No. 567) is preserved in several closely allied versions in the oral tradition as well as the Medieval literary tradition of Gujarat. Looking to its continuous popularity for some fifteen hundred years, it is bound to be one of the tales of Common Indian inheritance.

In its basic outline the tale is about two brothers, whom circumstances force to leave their native place. They travel abroad. Due to some lucky accident or divine favour they happen to eat respectively the head (or heart) and some other part of a magic bird, in consequence of which the elder gets a kingdom and the younger a daily supply of gold coins. The two brothers become separated. The younger passes through several ups and downs, and during his encounter with a cheating bawd he is deprived of his magic possession. He, however, takes revenge on her by turning her into a she-ass by

1. For the Type and Motif numbers, see Stith Thompson, *The Folktale*, 1946.

2. *The Folktale*, p. 75.

virtue of his newly acquired magic power. Ultimately the two brothers are happily united.[3]

The earliest known version comes from the Pali Jātakas. But we have also quite an early version of this tale in the story of the merchant kāṣtha given in the Āvaśyaka Commentaries. It is also known from numerous works on the lifestory of Maṇipati and from several other independent narratives in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Old Gujarati. The tale is widespread also in the West. The Prakrit version found in Ratnaprabha's Doghaṭṭī Commentary (composed in 1182 A.D.) on the Upadeśamālā is nearest to the core of modern versions as also of those current abroad, and as such its importance for tracing the ultimate source of the latter is quite obvious.

2. *The Danced-out Shoes* (*Type 306*)

Thompson has the following note on this tale-type:

"It is discovered that a princess absents herself at night and always returns with her shoes danced to pieces. She is offered in marriage to the man who can solve the mystery of her conduct. She has succeeded in giving a narcotic to all those who have tried to follow her, but the hero refuses to drink and accompanies her on a magic underground journey. He possesses the power of making himself invisible and is able to observe her when she dances with the supernatural being whom she

3. For a detailed study, see Bhayani, H. C. 'The Magic Bird-Heart' *Bharatiya Vidya* Vol. XXIII, 1-4, 1963 pp. 99-104. Earlier Version published as 'Four Old and Medieval Versions of The Magic Bird-Heart, proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth International Congress of Orientalists, Vol. III, Pt. I edited by R. V. Dandekar, 1970. See also 'Kāṣṭha Seṭh nī Dṛṣṭānta-Kathā' (in Gujarati), Bhayani H. C., *Anusaṁdhān*, 1972, pp. 34-38.

visits every night. By means of tokens which he has brought from his subterranean realm, he is able to prove his story and to claim his reward.

This tale , , , , seems to be Central European with most frequent appearance in the area from Serbia north of Finland. It does not, so for as is now known, go east of Russia and is represented but once in France and Portugal. A single version is found in Central Africa, and it has not thus far been reported in any other continents. Within its rather narrow geographical range it seems to be fairly popular, since somewhat more than a hundred variants are known.

The heroine in 'The Danced-out Shoes', does not seem to be anxious to be rescued from her otherworld lover[4].

These observations of Thompson's about the original source, form and area of Currency of the Danced-out shoes shall have to be now basically revised in the light of the Prakrit and early vernacular literary versions of the story known from India.

In Śīlāṅka's *Caupannamahāpurisa-Cariya* (879 A.D.)[5] we find under the account of Svayambhū Vāsudeva and Bhadra Baldeva, the story of Guṇavarman and Kanakavatī. Its outline is as follows:

Princess Kanakavatī while choosing prince Guṇavarman as her husband had made it known to him be-

4. *The Folk-Tal e*, pp. 34-35.

5. Ed. Bhojak A. M., 1961 ; see pp. 117-127 ; also Bhayani H. C., *Anusaṁdhān*, 26-33.

forehand that because she was bound by a certain pledge, she would live separately till she becomes free from the binding. After many days of separate life, the prince acquired the power to become invisible in lieu of the services he rendered to a Kāpālika, and in virtue of that power he managed to smuggle himself into the magic aerial car that one night he found carrying the princess and her two maids secretly to the divine Nandana garden. She was to give a dance performance there in the temple of Ṛṣabhadeva along with three other princesses who too arrived there from three other quarters. The four princesses were regularly subjected to perform this forced service by a wicked Vidyādhara who had bound them by a pledge. The prince managed to steal a small bell that got loosened from an anklet of his wife during her dance performance. He returned home in the magic car along with the princess.

The next day the prince produced the token of the small bell before the princess. He repeated his performance on the second night, but this time he secured an anklet of the princess that slipped from her foot during the dance. This again was shown to the princess next day. She then guessed that the prince had somehow come to know about her clandestine nightly visits. On the third night the princess excused herself on the ground of indisposition, and sent her maids to the Vidyādhara. As the latter indignantly threatened them to kill, the prince became visible and killed the Vidyādhara in a fight. The princess, thus freed from the slavish bondage, now accepted the prince with unbounded love.

The story continues further and turns into that of the faithless wife, but that seems to be quite obviously a

secondary development, being on the same footing as the frame story in which the whole is placed.

A second version of this story is found as the prologue to the Tale of Pañcadaṇḍa-chatra that formed a part of the Vikramāditya cycle.[6] We have several Medieval Gujarati versions beginning from the 16th century and one Sanskrit version (obviously based on an old Gujarati version). Vikramāditya was promised Devadamanī, the beautiful daughter of the courtesan on condition that he defeated her at the game of dice. She was invincible at that game because of a divine boon. Vikramāditya also obtains divine favour and invisibly accompanying her finds out about her secret nightly visits for dancing at the court of Indra. Thus he succeeds in confusing and defeating her at the dice game by producing token of her clandestine visits and thereby winning her in marriage.

Of the two versions of 'The Danced-out Shoes', the Pañcadaṇḍa version is nearer to the basic Western version. The marriage with Devadamanī forms a part of the frame story of the Pañcadaṇḍa and it remains to be investigated whether it was in the original Pañcadaṇḍa (that served as a source to the Gujarati abaptations) or was a later growth. Eventhough Indian versions do not have the danced-out shoes as the basic clue,the Indian origin of this tale is beyond any doubt.

3. *What should I have Done* (Type 1696, Motif J 2461)

The stories about the literal-minded fool misapplying his instructions and thus landing himself into

6. For the tale of Pañcadaṇḍachatra, onwards from the fifteenth century we get nine versions in Sanskrit and nine in Gujarati.

troubles and absurdities are widely current in all parts of India. Thompson observes[7] that the best-known tale of this kind has to do with the mother who tells her son what he should do in various circumstances. The stories usually have a ingenuous chain of foolishly applied instructions. According to Thompson the story is traceable to a Chinese Buddhist source and appears in several Renaissance Jestbooks.

An early Indian version of this type is found in Prakrit in the story of the Village Dolt given in the *Dharmopadeśa mālā-vivaraṇa* of Jayasiṁha Sūri[8] (Story No. 89, p. 159), Composed in 859 A. D. at Nagor in Marwar. The substance of the story is as follows:-

When a certain person in the king's service died, his helpless widow left the city and settled in a village, taking her small boy along with her. When the boy came of age he started to join the king's service. His mother tried to dissuade him as he did not know the appropriate ways and manners, but the boy expressed readiness to learn. So the mother gave him the first lesson: When you see a respectable person even from a distance, greet him immediately, saying very loudly the word of salutation. Thus instructed the boy went out and on his way saw a group of hunters hiding and lying in wait for deer. He greeted them from a distance with a wild shout. The deers were scared away. The hunters scolded the boy and when the latter explained his behaviour, they advised him: When you see persons hiding in this manner, you should approach them quite

7. *The Folktale*, p. 195.
8. Ed. Gandhi L. B., 1949.

slowly and noiselessly. Proceeding further the boy saw a group of policemen who were on the trail of a thief and were waiting in a hide-out. The boy began to move very cautiously. They took him for the thief and bound him with a rope. When he explained they advised him to say in like situation, 'May the blight descend'. Further on his way the boy saw a group of farmers starting, ploughing operations and he blurted out 'May the blight descend here'. They belaboured him, and when he explained his behaviour, they advised him that in such situations he should say 'May all your carts be filled up.' As the boy moved further, he saw a dead body being carried and he cried, 'May all your carts be filled with dead bodies'. He received a good beating and also the instruction that in a situation like that he should say 'May such an event never take place'. Shortly the boy got an occasion to say these words at a marriage ceremony in progress. Being instructed there to say in a similar situation, 'May this be a permanent feature', he pronounced these words when he saw a chieftain in fetters. There again he was taught to say 'May you be soon freed from these'. At last with many similar misadventures, the boy came to the King and was appointed his personal attendant. Here too he went on bungling. He was instructed by the king that while he was in assembly, whatever the boy had to convey to him was to be done at a proper moment and only in an undertone. The boy followed these instructions quite precisely when he came to the King to convey the news that the house was on fire. And finally, instructed to throw ashes, dust and water whenever he saw smoke

issuing from something, he carried this out when once the king's body was being fumigated.

4. *Cinderella* (Type 510)

As already pointed out by Hiralal Jain[9] the stories of Sugandhadas 'amī and Āramas'obhā known from several Jain works in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṁśa and Old Gujarati give us the two earlier versions of the tale that is well-known in the West in hundreds of versions as the story of Cinderella. As I have on hand a detailed study of these classical Indian versions, I shall not discuss them here. But I may draw attention to one point : As Devendra Sūri's *Mūlaśuddhi* commentary, composed in 1090 A. D., contains the story of Āramaśobhā, it is to be accepted as a version earlier than that in the Sugandhadas' amī Tale.[10] There is now no reason to assume it as a derivative of the latter, and this accords with the fact of the greater resemblance of Cinderella to Āramaśobhā than to Sugandhadas' amī.

5. *Clever Retribution*

In Bengali Household Tales (1912), Meculloch has recorded two tales of a clever labourer (or Brahmin) Youth). He does a number of mischiefs openly and pleads cleverly in the court about his innocence as in every case he had acted in accordance with the very words of the complainants, which, of course, he had

9. Jain Hiralal (Ed), *Sugandhas' amī Kathā*, 1966, Introduction, pp. 16-18.

10. See General Editor's preface to *Mūlaśuddhi Prakaraṇa*, ed. Bhojak A. M., 1971, p. 8. An oral version of the tale also has been recently recorded from Gujarat by Prof. Shantilal Acharya.

taken quite literally. He smashed the oil-pots of an oil-woman because she herself had quoted a proverb 'spilling oil extends the life span'. He wrapped oil-soaked rags around a monkey's tail and set it on fire because a pious old lady wished *not to listen* to but *actually witness* the Rāmāyaṇa episode of the burning of Laṅkā by Hanumant. He passionately kissed a betel-seller's wife because that fellow remarked to him, 'For your two cowries you can certainly lick the spittle of a betel-chewer'!

In another such story from the same collection, the clever youth, while being led to the court for similar mischiefs slaps on the way a passer-by who had remarked that a long journey is shortened by quarrelling.

These stories contain several familier motifs including one ef Literal pleading(J 1160).

A tale very clossely akin to these appears in Āmradeva Sūri's commentary (written in 1134) on Nemicandra Gaṇin's *Ākhyānakamaṇikośa*[11] (1073–1083 A.D.). It occurs as an emboxed story in the Tale of Bandhudatta (verses 14—48; pp. 283—286). Its outline follows.

Tired of his ill-tempered wife, a man of noble faimly left for the nearby city. Some youthful and boisterous milk-maids too were going to the city and they joined him on the way. Not caring for his depressed mood, they tried to engage him in some frivolous chit-chat, so much so that it got upon his nerves. The girls pressed him either to tell a story or even pick up a quarrel

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11. Ed. Muni Punyavijay, 1962. For the discussion see Bhayani H. C., *Anusaṁdhān*, pp. 42-49.

with them so that the long journey may be shortened. He immediately grabbed at the chance and put his foot across the legs of one of them. She stumbled and fell over one that was walking in front of her, and all of them thus fell down breaking to pieces their pots full of curds. They cursed the noble man and started quarrelling with him. Soon all of them reached the city, and the noble man somehow managed to leave the sore milkmaids' company. He went to the courtesans' quarters and got a night's shelter at a Dharmaśālā. A bawd approached him and pressed him to narrate to her some episode from the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. He requested her to leave him in peace as he was deadly tired, but she kept on pestering. Enraged, he knocked out her teeth with a blow and set the house on fire by means of the lamp-flame. He was immediately arrested for these acts and produced before the king. The milkmaids had been already there with their complaint. The nobleman pleaded that being harassed beyond tolerance by the two parties he took them at their words. In one case he picked up quarrel as he was advised to do and in the other case he gave the actual demonstration of the two incidents from the Rāmāyaṇa: Hanumat's blow had scattered the pearls from Ravaṇa's diadem—this was matched by knocking out the bawd's teeth; and the burning of Laṅkā was matched by setting the house on fire. The king gave his verdict : 'Not guilty' The close kinship of this tale with the tales from Bengal referred to above is quite obvious.

6. *Candana-Malayāgirī*

Some ten versions of this tale are known from the Medieval Gujarati literature.[12] It relates the adverse turns of fortune of a king beginning with the loss of kingdom. In the exile the king Candana, his queen Malayāgirī and their two sons Sāyara and Nīna are separated from one another. They undergo many sufferings and are ultimately reunited happily. In the Hindi speaking region this story is also known from the oral tradition, the names of the four chief characters being Ambā, Āmilī, Sarvar and Nīr. The earliest version of the tale is known so far from a Prakrit work dated 1083 A. D. In the fourth chapter of the *Mahāvīracariya* of Guṇacandra[13] what is given as the story of King Naravikrama is the same as the later tale of Candana-Malayāgirī. There is sufficient evidence to believe that Guṇacandra derived this story from a popular source.

7. *The Patridge in the Cart* (*Motif J* 1511.17)

Thompson and Balys have recorded from Thornburn's *Bannu, or our Afghan Frontier* a tale outlined as follows :[14] Ox bought ; buyer also claims load of wood attached. Later deceived man disguises and sells sharper another ox for 'hand of coppers'. He is allowed by court to claim the hand as well.

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12. See R. N. Jani, "The Jain and Non-Jain versions of the popular Tale of Candana-Malayāgirī from Prakrit and other Early Literary Sources", *Mahāvīr Jaina Vidyālaya* Golden Jubilee Volume, I, 1968, pp. 225-232.

13. Ed. Sagaranand Suri, 1929.

14. Thompson S. and Balys J., *The Oral Tales of India*, 1958, p. 266.

In Saṅghadāsa's *Vasudevahiṁḍi*[15] (*C.* fifth Century A. D.), we find an anecdote of the Patridge in the Cart which seems to be the earliest source for the above noted tale.

A farmer goes to city with a cart load of grains for sale. There is also a caged patridge on the cart. Some clever merchants ask the farmer : 'Is this patridge in the cart for sale ?' Being told that it can be bought for a Kārṣāpaṇa, the merchants pay the price and carry away the patridge along with the cart. The court accepts the merchant's interpretation of the phrase 'patridge-in-the-cart' and decides the case in their favour. Then tutored by a clever person the farmer approaches one of the same group of merchants with the offer of his ox for just two measures of barley-meal, provided they are given 'with her own hand' by the merchant's wife putting on her best dress and all the jewels. The merchant agrees, and the farmer takes possession of the wife along with the barley-meal. The case is decided this time in the farmer's favour.

These are only a few instances out of a great many wherein we can point out quite an early Prakrit original for widely popular tales current in India and outside. A systematic and comprehensive study of the Prakrit stories from this point of view is an urgent necessity. If an encyclopaedia of Middle Indo-Aryan tale types and tale-motifs can be prepared, it would be certainly an invaluable and lasting contribution to the comparative and historical study of the tales of the world in general and of India in particular.

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15. Ed. Caturvijay and Punyavijay, 1930, see pp. 57-58.

The few tales discussed here have also another quite important implication. Many of the conclusions of the Western folk-tale students regarding the sources, original form, nomenclature, classification and diffusion of numerous tale-types and tale motifs stand in need of drastic revision in the light of a huge amount of fresh information, that is available from Prakrit literature. So far the scholars have been able to make very little use of this evidence because of various reasons. A considerable part of Prakrit story literature still lies burried in manuscripts. Many of the works have been published only during the last few decades. Moreover, for most of the stories only the bare text is known. No translation is available in any European or Indian language. It is obvious that until these handicaps are removed there are slender chances for a wider and more fruitful utilisation of Prakrit sources.

A CRITIQUE OF KUMARILA'S THEORY OF ŚRUTĀRTHĀPATTI

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The Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsakas interpret Śabara's statement "*Arthāpattirapi dṛṣṭaḥ Śruto vā artho anyathā nopapadyate ityarthakalpanā*" as depicting two main types of presumption, e. g. *dṛṣṭārthāpatti* and *Śrutārthāpatti*. Illustrating *Śrutārthāpatti*, Kumārila states that on hearing such assertion, 'Devadatta does not take his meal during the day'—we arrive at the idea of 'his eating at night', and he holds it to be a distinct type of knowledge and calls it *śrutārthāpatti*. Kumarila is conscious of his opponents' views advocating the inclusion of *Śrutārthāpatti* under other sources of knowledge. But he ignores their tenet and tries to prove the distinctiveness of '*Śrutārthāpatti*' from other sources of knowledge.

Śrutārthāpatti versus Perception :—Kumārila holds that Śrutarthāpatti is not the subject of direct sense-perception because 'taking meal at night' is beyond the range of our vision. It is not a case of auditary perception even, because our ears are not capable of grasping an unuttered word of clause.

Śrutārthāpatti versus Comparison :—The Bhāṭṭas state that *Śrutārthāpatti* cannot be regarded as a case of comparison, since there is no similarity either between the sentence which is heard, i. e., 'does not eat in the day'

and that which is not heard, i. e., 'eats at night' or between the meanings of these sentences.

Śrutārthāpatti versus Verbal testimony :—Śrutārthāpatti is the presumption based upon testimony and not the verbal testimony itself. In the usual verbal testimony, the sentence is complete but in Śrutārthāpatti a portion of it is given and another is to be presumed. In the usual verbal testimony the words which are heard, have the competence to convey the complete sense, but such is not the case with presumption based upon testimony. In the given example the words which are heard, convey the negative meaning, i. e. 'does not eat during the day' and not the positive meaning, i. e. 'eats at night' Therefore, the knowledge—he takes his food at night—is based upon the part of the sentence which is presumed by us.

Śrutārthāpatti versus inference :—The presumption of unuttered words is not an inference, since they are known even when the concomitance is absent. Moreover, it is not possible here to determine the mark. If the sentence—he eats at night—is the probandum and 'Devadatta who is flabby but does not take his meal during the day' is the probans, then the probans in question does not belong to the subject of inference, i. e., the speaker of the sentence but belongs to such a locus as contains the negation of the probandum and hence it is not an invariable mark. Moreover, we find here no such property as can be proved by means of the probans in question just as we prove that a hill is fiery because it is smoky. Neither the sentence 'he does not take his meal during the day' nor its meaning can constitute the mark which will help us to infer the sentence, i. e., 'he

takes his meal at night'. If the sentence containing the phrase 'at night' is not heard then how can it be grasped as belonging to the subject of inference? But if it is heard then there is no need of inferring it. It is highly impossible to hold that the meaning of the sentence 'Devadatta who is bulky, does not take his meal during the day' serves the purpose of a probans in connection with the question. Here we cannot even hold that the inconsistency inherent in the sentence does not stir our imagination to supplement it by the assumption of the sentence—'He takes his meal at night' in order to make it a consistent one.

Kumārila is of the view that what happens in 'Śrutārthāpatti' is that the sentence which is being heard, implies a syntactical relation with its own unheard part. It implies the remaining portion because the sentence which is not given here, by itself (not having the complete parts) does not convey a consistent meaning. Therefore, the given part of the sentence implies its own remaining part out of grammatical necessity. So, what is presumed here is 'a portion of the sentence' and not the object meant by it.

Kumārila is quite aware of the following objections that could be raised by his opponents against this hypothesis :

(1) There is no point in presuming a portion of the sentence, since this objective could also be achieved through the presumption of the complementary meaning by the existing meaning 'bulky Devadatta does not eat in day' could lead to presume the complementary mean-

ing, i. e. natural food at night in the same way in which the smoke leads to the inference of fire.[1]

(2) Moreover, a portion of the sentence which is presumed is not meant for invisible merit but for the understanding of the relevant meaning and in that case there is no fault if one holds that the complementary meaning is presumed and not the complementary sentence. In other words the presumption relates to the fact and not the clause.[2]

The Bhāṭṭas, however, try to refute the above objections on the following grounds :

(1) A sentence which does not convey a complete meaning but produces an imperfect knowledge of objects is not a source of valid knowledge.

Eyes and other sense-organs, revealing only a portion of an object with which they come in contact, produce valid knowledge, whereas a sentence conveying only a portion of the complete meaning cannot be a source of valid knowledge.

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1. अवगम नैराकांक्ष्यसिद्धये तदर्थकल्पनमेव युक्तम्; न्या० मं० पृ० I—42.

2. (क) वचनैकदेशकल्पनमप्यर्थावगतिसिद्ध्यर्थमेवेति तत्कल्पनमेवास्तु किं सोपानान्तरेण, न्या० म० पृ० I-42.

(ख) शब्दैकदेशश्रुत्या तस्तदंशपरिपूरणं कल्प्यं प्रथममर्थस्य कुतस्तेन विना गतिः न्या० म० पृ० I-37.

(ग) प्रायः श्रुतार्थापत्त्या च वेदः कार्येषु पूर्यते ।
तत्रार्थः कल्प्यमानस्तु न भवेदेव वैदिकः ।।
न्या० म० पृ० I-37.

(2) A sentence is a complete whole in which each of its constituents i. e., parts of speech, fulfills its duty and tends to convey the meaning of the sentence. These parts do never stop half-way but invariably complete the task, viz., the expression of the complete meaning of a sentence.

(3) A sentence which expresses a complete meaning is a source of valid knowledge. Such a sentence bears a significant name. Therefore, wherever we hear a portion of a sentence we would fill up the gap supplying the understood portion by our imagination. How can we get at the complete and consistent meaning if the understood portion is not supplied ? In many cases the Vedic injunctions are incomplete. By means of presumption based upon testimony, they are made complete. But in these cases if we do not complete the Vedic injunction, which enjoin rites, then the latter, being merely implied will not be strictly Vedic. The Vedic *mantra* (a prayer) which speaks of a kind of ceremony in honour of the departed ancestors (*aṣṭaka* by name) leads us to assume an injunction which enjoins *aṣṭaka*. Sometimes, we also assume a complete Vedic injunction on the basis of an incomplete injunction. "One should perform *viśvajit* sacrifice" is an instance of an incomplete Vedic injunction. The injunction does not contain a word which may denote that sacrificer is to get the fruit of the action. In such a case, it does not carry the sense which it intends to convey. The object of an injunction is to induce a man to perform the rite prescribed by it. But only a man who is aware of the fruit of the rite and intends to have it, is persuaded to do so. Hence the above injunction should be supplemented by

the word '*svargakāmaḥ*', so that the complete injunction should amount to this that one who is desirous of heaven should perform *viśvajit* sacrifice. In case of subsidiary rites such as '*Aindrāgnī*' etc. a general hint has only been given by the basic injunction as to their observance. In order to know the details of the rites which make them up, we are to assume some injunctions which assert that the subsidiary rites bear a close resemblance to the principal rites which they belong to.

On the basis of the aforesaid analysis, the Bhāṭṭa theory of Śrutārthāpatti could be summed up in the following form :—

1. Śrutārthāpatti is the presumption of an unheard clause with a given sentence, when the sentence involves an inner contradiction and is inexplicable without the presumption of such a clause.

2. It is not only different from other sources of knowing but from other types of presumption as well.

3. The proper evaluation of '*Śrutārthāpatti*' depends upon the appropriate conception of the sentence (It is interesting to note that almost all the arguments of the Bhāṭṭas regarding '*Śrutārthāpatti*' centre round the structural and textual dimensions of the sentence).

4. In the stock example of '*Śrutārthāpatti*' i. e., 'Flabby Devadatta does not take his food during the day, the Vedantins think that the presumption, i. e., 'he takes

his food at night'—is that of a fact, but the Bhāṭṭas hold it to be a case of the presumption of a clause.[5]

Prabhākara's rejection of Śrutārthāpatti :—Though Śabara's statement clearly mentions the terms (*'dṛṣṭaḥ'* and *'Śrutaḥ'*), yet Prabhākara holds that the apparent meaning of the statement is not the real one. So unlike Kumārila, who interprets Śabara's statement as implying two main types of presumption, Prabhākara and his followers refuse to accept *Śrutārthāpatti* as one of the two distinct types of presumption. The Prābhākaras hold that there is no point in accepting *Śrutārthāpatti,* since the functions assigned to it by the Bhāṭṭas, have alreaby been covered under the routine range of the denotative power of words. Jayanta, the celebrated author of *Nyāyamanjarī* approvingly reproduces and reviews the Prabhākara's stand-point that the heard portion of the sentenee could imply its unuttered portions on the basis of the following terms :—

(1) The words have short as well as an unlimited denotative range. As an arrow has short or long process, i. e. it hits a near or a remote object or it pierces and passes through a thin or thick object quickly or slowly, similarly the function of a word of conveying its

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3. (क) प्रकरणपञ्चिका पृ० 271.
(ख) ऋजुविमला बृहती अर्था० पृ० 89.
(ग) श्रुतार्थापत्तिर्यथा यत्र श्रूयमाण वाक्यस्य स्वार्थानुपपत्तिमुखेनार्थान्तरकल्पकत्वम् ।
वे० प० अर्था०
Epistimology of the Bhaṭṭa School of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā.

meaning continues as long as the knowledge of its meaning continues to arise in our mind. Its function ceases to work only when it produces no knowledge due to the stoppage of its process on account of the cessation of the impact of casual factors working behind it.

(2) Sometimes pragmatic experience plays a great role in determining the meaning. A man who is worthy of being initiated into the art of the proper use of words from the experienced masters, attentively notes the usage of the old teachers and comes to learn that such and such sentences are capable of conveying such and such meanings. So, it is obvious that the words which constitute these sentences determine their meaning.

(3) Silent words also contribute in determining the meaning. If we reflect on the nature of conditions which regulate the conditioned meaning of sentence then we come to know that there are some cases which show that even silent words determine meanings of sentences. For example, there are a few Vedic injunctions which are elliptical in their character. An illustration of this type is '*Viśvajitā yajeta*', i.e. a person who intends to enjoy heavenly bliss should perform the sacrifice called '*viśvajit*'. In this injunction the compound word '*Svargakāmaḥ*' (one who intends to enjoy heavenly bliss) is not given. Still, the silent word contributes its share towards the conveying of the complete meaning of the above injunction.

(4) Sometimes the given words even do not contribute to the meaning. There are also some injunctions in which the given words which are heard are given up since they do not help to convey the complete mean-

ings of these injunctions. An illustration of this type is —*ubhayam havir artim ṛcchet.* Here the word *Ubhayam* has been abandoned since it is not capable of expressing the complete meaning of a great vedic Injunction. In connection with the directions of the new-moon and the full-moon sacrifices, it has been stated that if both the articles which are to be offered are spoiled, then Indra should be offered five plates of rice. Now, the *prima facie* view is that an emphasis should be laid upon the adjective *Ubhayam.* But the conclusive view is that even if one of these two articles to be offered is spoiled, then the compensatory rite should be observed. Hence the word *Ubhaya* loses its significance, since its absence opens up a wider scope. The actual traditional practice is that the word *ubhaya* should be given up. Thus, it has got no part to play when the meaning of the above two conjoined injunctions is conveyed.

(5) In some cases no importance is attached to subordinate clause which does not shape the meaning of the main injunction e. g. in the vedic sentence *Prayāja-śeṣeṇa havīṁṣyabhidhāryati,* (i. e., one sprinkles the articles with such clarified butter which remains after the completion of *prayāja* sacrifice) the clause '*Prayājaśeṣeṇa*' refers to the procedure of sacrificing an animal in *Vāja-peya* sacrifice. There is also no ruling as regards the preservation of such clarified butter and the provision of a pot which contains it stands to reason that the sentence, a portion of which is not given, may also directly convey a meaning. In that case there is no use of assuming the types of presumption based upon testimony. As in the so-called instances of presumption based upon testimony, the meaning is directly conveyed by the in-

complete sentences, so the intermediate process of supplying the silent portion in order to render the sentence complete is superfluous.

A comparative analysis of the Bhaṭṭa and Vedanta account of *Śrutārthāpatti* shows that whereas Kumārila altogether ignores *abhihitānupapatti* i. e. the presumption of facts, Dharmaraja has given equal weightage to it. In fact, as Dr. G. P. Bhaṭṭ rightly points out, it is more reasonable to say that the object of *arthāpatti* in 'Flabby Devadatta does not eat in the day' is a fact rather than a clause. The statement is grammatically complete but the sense involves inconsistency, therefore a fact is presumed and not a clause. Thus, the Vedanta account of *Śrutārthāpatti* seems more reasonable than the Bhaṭṭa and Prābhākara account of it.

Jayanta's criticism of Śrutārthāpatti :—It has been already mentioned before that the Bhāṭṭas object to any attempt to reduce *arthāpatti* to inference. But Jayanta holds that *Śrutārthāpatti* is not different from inference. Jayanta advances following arguments to prove his thesis and refute the Bhaṭṭa stand-point.[4]

(1) The example of the so-called presumption, based upon the verbal testimony, is a weak one, since *Śrutārthāpatti* is not different from an inference. It is really absurd to presume the part of a sentence; since the meaning of the absent part also can be inferred from its effect, which serves the purpose of a genuine mark. As fire is inferred from smoke, similarly one can infer

4. अर्थस्तु साकांक्षः सन् अर्थान्तरमुपकल्पयतु कोऽवसरो वचनकल्पनायाः ? न्या. म. पृ. 42.

the taking of meal as the mark (essential condition) of flabbiness on the basis of noticing the great bulk of a person. There is no difference in these two instances.

(2) From our repeated observations we have learnt that flabbiness is the effect of the taking of meal. In some cases the mark is perceived but in other cases it may be known by means of the verbal knowledge. As there is no great gulf of difference between these two types of mark, there is no difference between the *Śrutārthāpatti* and inference.

(3) The Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsakas contend that an incomplete sentence cannot convey its full meaning. They do not mean to say that the sentence that 'Flabby Devadatta does not take his meal during the day', fails to convey that he is flabby but what they simply intend to suggest is that the knowledge that 'he is flabby' requires a complement, i. e. 'he takes food at night' which is not given in the basic form of the sentence. So what the Bhāṭṭas do is, that they propose to presume the complementary portion of the sentence and call it *Śrutārthāpatti*. But Jayanta puts them in a dilemma by asking them as to which of the constituents of the given sentence require a complement ? Is it a (1) word or (2) its meaning or (3) its knowledge ?

(1) If the Bhāṭṭas hold that a word requires complement, then it may be said that as no inarticulate sound requires a complement, so no word which does not refer to a meaning requires a complement.

(2) If it is the contention of the Bhāṭṭas that the meaning of the given sentence requires a complement,

then let its requirement be fulfilled by having a complementary meaning. And in that case, there is no point in presuming a portion of the sentence.

(3) If the knowledge brought about by the given part of the sentence is held as requiring a complement, in such a case even it is the object which is required to make the already acquired knowledge comprehensive. And for that purpose the simple course to be adopted is that the additional objects themselves should serve as complements. And in this situation, the presumption of a part of the given sentence becomes superfluous

Jayanta is aware of the objections that the Bhāṭṭas could raise against his refutation of their proposition. So at this juncture also he reproduces and then rejects their counter arguments. (1) The Bhāṭṭas state that the presumption of the object and not of the referent themselves would render the vedic sentence non-vedic. But Jayanta holds that if the sentence is presumed, the meaning would become non-vedic with the same logic, since the presumed portion of the sentence is non-vedic. So the fact of vedic injunction becoming non-vedic is a weak shelter. (2) Moreover, the directly given sentence and the subsequent portion indirectly assumed from it, both constitute a Vedic text according to the Mīmāṁsakas, then with the same logic the given and suggested meaning would also be regarded as Vedic. And in that case, there is hardly any propriety in the gratuitous presumption of a clause or a sentence.

Jayanta further holds that on the basis of the above mentioned facts, the arguments of those also automatically stand refuted, who hold that 'Flabbiness' as

in the given example is sensuous and 'taking food at night' is super-sensuous and the relation of concomitance holding between them cannot be ascertained. Jayanta seems to propound that if one portion of a logical whole is ascertained, the remaining part could be inferred, and the injection of supersensuous colouring to the silent part is totally unwarranted.

On reviewing the aforesaid account of '*Śrutārthāpatti*' we arrive at the conclusion that '*Śrutārthāpatti*' is not a distinct means of knowledge. The arguments advanced by the Bhāṭṭas are not based on sound footing.

HINDUS AND TURKS : INDIA-CENTRAL ASIA RELATIONS : BUDDHISM, CHINESE CULTURE AND ISLAM

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Calcutta

(I) *Buddhism and the influence of Sanskrit on Altaic Languages (Turki, Mongol) in Central Asia.*

Through Buddhism, and translation of Buddhist texts either directly from Sanskrit, or, as it happened mostly, from Saka or Khotanese, Old Sogdian and Tokharian, and from Tibetan in the case of the Mongols, quite a respectable body of loan-words from Sanskrit entered Turki and Mongol. The names of the deities of the Mahayāna pentheon in Turki and Mongol (as given, e. g. in Getty's '*Gods of Northern Buddhism*') are in Sanskrit, modified to suit the Altaic speech habits of Turki and Mongol. This Sanskrit element in Altaic languages would form a very interesting and useful excursus into the cultural history of Central Asia. A few typical words culled from Old Turki as in the Buddhist texts preserved in Mss. in the Brahmi script and also in Uigur and Soghdian are like the following :

acdri=ācārya ; *aditya*=āditya ; *asuri*=asura, *ašliš*=ašleṣa (the Constallation) ; *ārdāni*=ratna, *ariwadi*=revati (the constallation), *astup*=stūpa ; *banit* =phāṇita 'molases, sugar, (through Tokharian) ; *baranas* =Vārāṇasī ; *bodu*, *bodi*=bodhi ; *bodimant*=bodhi-

maṇḍa, 'Throne of Enlightment' ; *bodisawat* = Bodhisattva (from Soghdian) ; *braxaswadi* = Bṛhaspati ; *brama* = Brāhmaṇa ; *bud* = Budha (the Planet Mercury) ; *burua-guru* = pūrva-guru ; *buyan* = puṇya ; *cadik, catik* = jātaka; *caxśapat, caqśapat, cayśāput* = śikṣāpada (through Soghdian cikśapaδ) ; *cakir* = cakra ; *cambu-dwip* = jambudvīpa ; *cantal* = caṇḍāla (through Tokharian) ; *caytir* = citrā (a constellation) ; *cintamani* = cintāmaṇi, *citawan* = Jeta-vana, *danis* = dhaniṣṭha (a constellation) ; *darm* = dharma ; *dharni, tarni* = dharaṇī, *diyan, dyan, dian* = dhyāna ; *farinibran* = parinirvāṇa ; *γuru* = guru ; *gaṅ* = Gaṅgā ; *grax* = graha ; *Xast* = hasta ; *kalp* = kalpa ; *karmaput* = Karmapatha ; *Kawi* = kāvya ; *kśanti* = kṣānti, *kolti* = koṭi ; *Maitri* = Maitreya ; *maxa* = mahā ; *namobut, namodarm, namosaṅ* = namaḥ + buddhāya, dharmāya, saṅghāya ; *nayut* = niyuta ; *nirwan, nirban* = nirvāṇa ; *nigranti* = nirgrantha ; *nikay* = nikāya ; *orohit* = rohita (a fish) ; *paramit* = pāramitā ; *patar* = patra; *patir* = pātra (through Soghdian) ; *praśdanki, praśtinki, praśniki* = praśnika ; *pratikabut* = pratyeka-buddha ; *purwa – palguni* = pūrva-phālguni (a constellation) ; *puś* = puṣya (a star) ; *raxu* = rāhu (the planet) ; *rasayan* = rasāyana ; *ratna–wacir* = ratna-vajra ; *sādu* = sādhu ; *sansar* = saṃsāra ; *saṅadas, saṅadizi* = saṅghadāsa ; *saṅram* = saṅghārāma ; *sinxadiwip* = Siṃha-dvīpa ; *sintu* = Sindhu (Indus) ; *soma* = soma ; *sudur* = sātra ; *sukawati* = sukhāvatī ; *sukśumar* = sukṣmāilā (cardaman) ; *sumir, sumur, samir* = sumeru ; *śakimuni* = śākyamuni ; *śala, śal* = śālā ; *samnanc, simnanc* = śrāmanerī ('nun'—through Soghdian) ; *śanicar* = śanaiścara ; *śarir* = śarīra (relic) ; *śastantri, śāstra–tantari* = śāstra-tantrin ; *śastir* = śāstra ; *śatabiś* = śatabhiṣaj ; *śākar* = śarkarā, *śazan* = śāsana ; *ślok* = śloka ; *śukur, śukur* = śukra (the Planet) ; *udara-*

batirawat=uttara-bhādra-padā ; *ucyan*=ujjaiyinī ; *upasnc*=upāsikā (through Soghdian) ; *upasi*=upāsaka ; *uruguni*=rohiṇī (the star); *wacir*=vajra; *waybaziki*=vai-bhāsikā ; *wayduri*=vaiḍurya; *wixar*=vihāra ; *wiśay*, *fiśay*=viṣaya ; *wiyakri*=vyākṛti, etc. etc.

The actual situation in what may be called Hindu-Turk Relations during the first millennium after Christ, particularly during the second half of it, has been briefly summarised in his brilliant and masterly way by Prof. H. W. Bailey, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Cambr'dge, in his Inaugural Lectures delivered on May 2, 1938 on *'The content of Indian and Iranian Studies'* (Cambridge University Press, 1938). We may make some quotations *in extenso* from Dr. Bailey's paper, which will be *a propos* in this context :

"Buddhism has thus led the Indianist to the countries of Central Asia and to China and Tibet. Not only however have new avenues in the history of Buddhism been opened, but the history and culture of these lands have themselves become important. Along these routes was brought the silk of China to the west, and the plants of Persia came to China. Here much of interest to the general culture of the world remains to be investigated.

"The new discoveries have made known lost languages, which had flourished in these countries till, after the tenth century A.D., the Turkish languages replaced them.

"Of the languages of Kuci and Agni much has been published under the name of Tocharian.

No one who has heard of Indo-European languages is ignorant of this discovery. Although we still await the publication of many of the texts, enough has been published to show clearly what type of language they represent. We have in them a new branch of the Indo-European group. It is attested at a regrettably late date, but has much of great importance for general Indo-European studies. It is unfortunate that we have not yet had an English specialist for this study.

"Equally unknown were two Iranian languages, the Sogdian and the Khotanese. For this latter I confess to a particular attachment. In Khotanese we have material of great diversity. Translations from Sanskrit are numerous. But there are also documents of great interest concerned with the country itself. Among the most important are the ambassadorial reports, if that is not too grand a title, sent to the Khotanese King. Lighter matters are also represented, as when we find a schoolboy's exercises. He will solemnly copy out the advice: Learn quickly that you may not be punished, and similar wisdom, or will write Sanskrit conversations and add his own rendering. Some of the translations are accompanied also by the original Sanskrit text, which may have perished elsewhere. From this too we learn how they treated Sanskrit in Khotan. At first sight it seemed mere corruption, but it can now be seen to be rather a deliberate modification in accordance with the pronunciation of the language which prevailed among them, and so is legitimate and of interest for Indian studies . . . . . .

"But the Khotanese were not content to be only recipients of Buddhist legends. They developed their own. They declared that the Buddha himself had visited the hill of Gośṛṅga in Khotan, and had there prophesied the future greatness of the faith among the Khotanese. They claimed the particular favour of the Bodhisattva Vairocana. They believed that the founder of the kingdom of Khotan had been a son of Aśoka, the great patron of the faith, born when Aśoka was visiting Khotan. They had in their country most holy places and the names of many of these holy places have reached us in Khotanese and Tibetan books. It will be understood how delightful it was to find a Buddhist poem, the *Jātaka-stava*, which had been composed in the Sāmānya monastery, for this name had long been known in the faithful record of the Chinese pilgrim Huan-tsang, and more recently in Tibetan books. Among the Khotanese rolls has been found also the legend of Aśoka and his son Kuṇāla, who was slandered by his step-mother.

"All this activity in the service of the Buddha is a testimony to its importance in the life of Khotan. Of the music and dramatic performances of which the Khotanese were so found nothing has survived. The name they used for the drama was Indian, the word *nalai*, and it is probable that they knew the Sanskrit drama adapted to Buddhist purposes, known to us now from fragments discovered in Central Asia. Of the elaborate festivals we learn from the Chinese travellers ......

"I have still to mention Turkish. Turkish has been well represented among the Central Asian manuscripts. Many of the texts are translations from Sanskrit and official documents. For the most part these have been texts written in the Sogdian script, which is of Aramaic origin, but the old Turkish script of the Orkhon inscriptions has also been discovered. But for Indian studies, a still more interesting fact is the use of the Indian Brahmi script for the writing of Turkish. Only a small part has yet been published, but that little is of importance. It is one of the difficulties of Turkish studies that the scripts usually employed do not clearly distinguish the vowels. This the Indian alphabet was able to do. We can therefore see how these Turks understood their own language. It has not been usual to associate Turks with Sanskrit studies. It is therefore interesting that one of these texts is bilingual. A Sanskrit text is explained in Turkish.

"The Khotanese texts are likely to be of importance for Turkish history. Here there are many references to the Turkish chiefs, to the *Khaghan*, the *khans*, the *tegins*, the *chors*, and the *saghuns*; and references also to the many Turkish tribes. Chinese histories of this period have little to say of the Turks in the tenth century, and the new information is therefore doubly welcome.

"One division of Indian literature which deserves a special mention is the medical. This literature was assiduously cultivated by the Buddhists, and the earliest extant medical manuscript in Sanskrit

was brought from Central Asia. Translations of med'cal texts were made into a variety of Asiatic languages. We have more or less fragmentary texts in Turkish, Kuchean, Agnean and Khotanese. Among the Khotanese is a manuscript containing a medical text in the original Sanskrit together with the Khotanese rendering beside others preserved only in translation.

"I have said before that the Buddhists have ever loved the telling of tales. They brought a vast number with them from India, and of these versions have turned up among the Central Asian rolls. It was natural to find the more famous Buddhist tales, as those of Aśoka, or of Sudhana, who with many labours sought his lost fairy wife over the mountains. But it was not expected that the great Brahmanical hero Rāma should appear here also in a Buddhist environment. Yet this has happened. We have now Central Asian and Tibetan variants of the legend, to set beside the Indian and the Javanese."

This borrowing was not on one side only. Through the coming of Turki speaking Huns and others into India from after 500 A. D. right down to the conquest of Northern India by the Islamised Turks in the 10th century, when a totally new attitude and atmosphere came in, and their settling down in India and taking part in Indian politics and Indian life, the Hindus before the Islamic conquest took over a number of words from the Turks, as much as from the other Central Asian peoples, Iranians mostly, and possibly some of these later came to the Hindus

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from the Turks who had already received them in their own language in Central Asia. Examples of both these Turki and Central Asian Iranian loan-words in Sanskrit and other languages of the Hindus are :

(1) *but-rū* in the speeches of Bihar (Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri)='baby , child'. This is in all likelihood from old Turki *buta,* already found in the *Oghuz–name* (a short fragmentary epic in old Turki of only 378 lines), plus the Indo–Aryan suffix *rūpa, rūa, rū,* which had an emphatic or pleonastic sense.

(2) *Kaṭaka* in Sanskrit, *Kaṭak* in New Indo–Aryan, in the sense of 'fortress, encampment' (very commonly used in the Sanskrit of the inscriptions during the closing centuries of the 1st millennium A.D. and later, when the Turks were quite in evidence in India as a military group). It is found also in the *Oghuz–nāme.* There are two other meanings of *Kaṭa*(*Ka*) in Sanskrit, (a) 'a ring, bracelet', and (b) 'a mat' : but here we have perhaps an old Sānskrit word *kṛta*>*kaṭa,* with the above semantic developments.

(3) New Indo–Aryan *ṭhākur,* Middle Indo–Aryan and Sanskrit *ṭhakkura.* This is a very common word, particularly in North India, and it means (a) 'a lord or master, a ruler or king', (b) 'a fighter, a Rajput', (c) 'any respected person like a Brahman', and finally (d) 'a God, a Divinity,and image of a god or goddess'. (The Bengali sobriquet *Ṭhākur* as a title of respect for the Brahman family of Calcutta in which Rabindranath Tagore was born, was anglicised in the 18th century as *Tagore*). This word became popular after the Huns came to India. It seems to be a blend in India of the two

common Turki words—*tägin*, 'prince, master, lord, chief' and *tärir* or *teṅqir* (=Osmanli Turki *tänri*), 'god. God in Heaven. In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* chronicle of Kashmir in Sanskrit, we find the word as *ṭhakkaṇa* which is nearer to *tägin*.

(4) The name *Turk* itself. It came to India some 12 to 13 hundred years back, as *Turukka* in Apabhraṃśa, and it was Sanskritised into *Turuṣka* (in Dravidian Tamil, it became *Tulukkañ*). From the 10th century onwards, when Muslim Turks began to come in large numbers into India as a conquering army and began destroying Hindu temples and images and despoiling the people, in the name of Islam, the word became (as *Turuk*, *Turk*, *Tulukkañ*) synonymous with Musalmān. In fact, until the middle of the 19th century in India the commonest appelation for a Muslim was *Turk* or *Musalmān*, and *Muhammadan* in English, and not *Muslim* or *Moslem*.

(5) *Arük* 'plum, apricot' – possibly the source of New Indo—Aryan *ālū*, *āḷū*, *āḍū* 'apricot'.

(6) *qilic* 'sword' : New Indian *kiric* 'a long knife' (may be from Malay *kéris*).

(7) *qul* 'slave' : Rajasthan *gol*ā (cf. also old Turki *gol* 'poor').

These words would appear to have been adopted in Indian languages from Turki speakers who came to India before 1000 A. D. at a time when they were not yet Islamised, and because of their old religion and Buddhism could become assimilated among the Hindu people. These words are pure Turkish or Altaic words. In addition, a number of words of Iranian origin also came to

India, either through the intermediacy of the Turks or of the various Iranian peoples, both of whom were active in the Indian scene before 1000 A.D. Among such words would be—

(8) Sanskrit *kanthā* 'wall' later 'patched quilt',= New Indo-Aryan, (Bengali) *kāth* (*kānth*), 'wall', *kāthā* (*kānthā*) 'quilt' ; *kāthi* 'name of a town in West Bengal = *Contai* in Anglicised spelling ? This word comes from Central Asian (Soghdian) *kanth*, *kandh*, found in Turkish as *qand kent* etc. in names of towns like *Samarqand*, *Khokand*, *Yarkand*, *Tashkent*, *Qandahar*, where it means 'rampart', or 'walled town'.

(9) Old Turki *kâgdâ*, *kagda* 'paper' possibly from the Soghdian : New Indo-Aryan *kāgada*, *kāraz*, *kāgaj*, *kakat*, Sanskritised (in early Nepal) as *kāyagata*. (A word from Chinese, meaning 'paper' was adopted into Sanskrit in the 8th century A. D.,—Chinese *tsieh*, which changed into Sanskrit of that period as *śayaḥ*, but which has not survived in India).

By far the greatest influence of Turki on Indian languages took place during the 10th-14th centuries, and again for a short while after the establishment of Mogul (Mughal) rule in North India under Babur in 1526 A. D.

(II) Chinese-Altaic Contacts.

The Altaic people first came under the influence of the Iranian Scythians from the West, from the middle of the 1st millennium B. C. Scythian traces were in their plastic art, and may be it was also in their art of warfare. About the same time, they came in close touch

with their eastern neighbours, the Chinese. For centuries, it was a case of rude nomads attacking the civilised agriculturists. The Chinese with their pacific proclivities in those early centuries, were no match for the Altaic peoples, the ancestors of the Turks and the Mongols. They had to placate the leaders of these strong and persistent enemies by gifts and deferential treatment, and sometimes by sending daughters from the Chinese ruling houses as wives. The Chinese during the 3rd century B. C. under the Han Emperor Shih Hwang-Ti built the Great Wall to keep out the marauding Altaic invaders, but it did not succeed in the long run. From the closing centuries of the 1st millennium B. C. onwards we have in Chinese literature accounts of Chinese dealings with the Huns and other Turkic tribes and with the Mongols. There is the famous appeal of Emperor Wen-ti (179-137 B. C.) to "the Captain of the Huns" (see p. 65 ff. *Gems of Chinese Literature* by Herbert A Giles, Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, 1922), which says, among other things: "The first Emperor of this Dynasty adopted the following policy :--All to the north of the Long Wall, comprising the nations of the bow and arrow, (i. e., the Altaic nomads), to be subject to the great Captain, all within the Long Wall—namely the families of the hat and girdle (i. e. the settled Chinese agriculturists), to be subjects to the House of Han. Thus, these peoples would each pursue their own avocations,—Ours, agriculture and manufacture of cloth, yours, archery and hunting,—in the acquisition of food and raiment". The latter is quite placatory in tone, and asks for peaceful co-existence. The nomads evidently had very much the might to harm the Chinese, who were gentle and cultured and peace-loving. In another document of the

1st century B. C.—c. 36 B. C.—a distinguished scholar Ku Yung presented a memorial to the Court advising refusal to accept as a naturalised subject of China a Hun or Turkish refugee named Issimoyen, with a view to avoid further complications with the Altaic Huns by permitting some of them to settle among the Chinese (*Gems of Chinese Literature* by Herbert A. Giles, p. 89). Evidently infiltration of the Altaics among the Chinese was taking place and was looked upon as a problem, and this infiltration might have been both for economic and cultural advantages offered by the higher civilisation and standard of living of the Chinese, or for purely political and strategic reasons. In any case, there was in subsequent centuries control and political conquest of considerable portions of China by the nomadic Altaics. Chinese princesses or girls of high families were evidently sought after by the Altaic princes as brides, and Old Chinese literature had stories of such ladies being sent away from homes to a faraway barbarian people, as a political expediency. The lot of many of them was far from happy, and we have records of the tragedy of the lives of some of these delicately nurtured ladies of a civilised society being forced to live in very primitive conditions. Among other pathetic stories about such unfortunate Chinese ladies is that of Hsi-Chien, c. 110 B. C., who "was sent, for political reasons, to be the wife of a Central Asian nomad King, Khun-mo, King of the Wu-sun. When she got there, she found her

husband old and decrepit. He only saw her once or twice a year, when they drank a cup of wine together. They could not converse, as they had no language in common". She has lamented her fate in this way—

"My people have married me
In a far corner of Earth :
Sent me away to a strange land,
To the king of the Wu-sun.
A tent is my house,
Of felt are my walls,
Raw flesh my food
With mare's milk to drink.
Always thinking of my own country,
My heart sad within.
Would I were a yellow stork
And could fly to my old home !"

We have also the story of Chao-chun, a Chinese girl who in 33 B. C. was "bestowed upon the Khan of the Hsiung-nu (Huns or Turks) as a mark of imperial regard. She died most unhappy in an alien land, and her grave in a desolate district was the only spot where grass would grow, and this grave was known as "The Green Grave". (See Arthur Waley, 170 *Chinese Poems*, a Poem by Po Chu-I written in 809 : this poem gives a touching story of a Chinese soldier who was made a prisoner by the Turks, and he spent 40 years among the Turks, and had a wife and children among them, but feeling homesick, he came back to China and was captured and condemned to exile with other Turkish

prisoners to an unhealthy region, his own people not recognising him). Chinese prisoners among the Altaic nomads sometimes as superior and cultured men utilised their enforced stay in obtaining valuable information for the Chinese Government about the Western World of Central Asia and other countries, and there is the famous case of a Chinese military officer Chang Kien (c. 140 B. C.) who sojourned among the nomads for over 10 years and could come back with full reports on the peoples and the trade of the west.

All this would show quite a close connection gradually developing between the Turks (and other Altaic nomads) and the Chinese, and its culmination was when the Altaic Manchus conquered China and established a Manchu dynasty of emperors which ruled the Chinese empire from 1644 to 1912. The Manchus have finally been absorbed in China, as the Turks and Mongols in China were before them. A new militant spirit in Communist China is now bent upon absorbing the Altaic peoples—the Mongols and Turks (the latter now Muslims), as the Manchus in Manchuria have now almost entirely become Chinese, and the Mongols in Inner Mongolia are faced with similar absorption.

One interesting point may be mentioned in this context. Perhaps the earliest recorded composition by an Altaic poet, a Turk, has been preserved in a Chinese version (See Arthur Waley, 170 *Chinese Poems*, 1919 p. 140). It is said that Altun (486-566 A. D.) was a Tartar employed by the Chinese in drilling their troops 'after the manner of the Huns'. He could not read or write. His Master Kuo Huan who was fighting Pi, the King of Chou, on a critical occasion summoned his

nobles to his room, and Altun was asked to sing them a song about Tchirek (really Teleq), his native land. He sang as follows :

"Tchirek River
Lies under the Dark Mountains :
Where the sky is like the sides of a tent
Stretched down over the Great Steppe.
The sky is gray, gray :
Over grass that the wind has battered low
Sheep and oxen roam."

Here we have as fine a literary composition as any. giving an Altaic warrior's realistic yet imagintive account of the atmosphere of his home land. These antedates the oldest compositions in Turki (the Orkhon Inscriptions) of c. 740 A. D. by some 200 years, and those in Mongol (the *Secret History of the Mongols*) of 1240 by 700 years.

(III) *Hindu—Turki Relations in the Muslim Period.*

We now come to the Third Period of contact between Hindus and Turks. With the gradual conversion of the Turks from the third quarter of the 8th century, from 782 A.D. when the Arabs under Ibn Kutaiba made a conquest of Mawar an–Nahr or Transoxiana, there came a great change in the mentality of the Turks under the impact of Islam. Turkish expansion into the lands of the South and South-West into Iran and further to the West as well as into India in the South-East started with full vigour. The weakness of the later, decadant Iranians in organisation and in military virtues gave the

Turks a great opportunity as mercenaries and then as pratorian guards, and they carved new territories dominated by them as a *Herrenvolk* in Afghanistan, in Iran, Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor and in the caucasus region. An unsophisticated people, with their minds attuned to the nomadic virtues and vices (the lust of conqest and the greed of loot were two of their conspicuous traits in this period of their first great expansion) found a very great source of their strength in the simple creed of Quranic Islam which they adopted and which they understood in their own way. They accepted the more democratic Sunnī form of Islam, even though they at first settled down among the Persian Muslims who followed the shiah faith, and they became the most ardent champions of Islam against all non-Islamic peoples. Their old spirit of co-existence with other peoples was gone, at least for the time being, as they thought through Islam they acquired a higher place among the nations in the eye of both God and Man. They held all non-Muslims in utter contempt as they were *Kāfirs* or infidels, who had no knowledge of God and whose religions and practices were just the beastly devices of the heathen, which it was only proper to destroy. They thought it was their God-appointed duty to fight and kill and despoil Hindus and others. A comparatively primitive people with inherent military virtues, became a formidable force with such convictions. Being eminently practical, they took help of all modern devices and developments in warfare.

The Hindus were just the opposite of the Turks in these matters. They were hypercivilised, and they had in their own turn developed an ingrained contempt for all

foreign peoples as *mlecchas* or barbarians, both disliked and feared because they could not be shaken off.

There was absolute lack of understanding on either side. According to the tenets of a popular militant Islam, material advantages of the conquest of Hindus by Muslims were approved by God. The desire for economic and political domination went hand in hand with an urge for destruction and proselytisation which had the sanction of religion. Before Turkish aggressiveness, the Hindus had to fall back on the defensive, and that was the note of the Hindu–Turk struggle for survival and dominance in North India during these centuries.

The Turk had paved the way for a more spectacular and a wider expansion in the lands of the Near East and Eastern Europe some 400 years before the Mongols came into the field, in the 13th century. But the Mongol method and ideal of conquest were different. Theirs was a sort of a *Blitzkrieg*, and it was at first just on the principle of 'they came, they destroyed, and they departed'. There was no religious fanaticism behind Mongol invasions and aggressions, and they had nothing but just an equal treatment for people of all religions, although they themselves had become half-cooked Lamaistic Buddhists retaining most of the bases of their old Shamanistic religion. In the 13th century they destroyed the Perso-Islamic civilisation of Central Asia and Iran, and the Arab–Islamic civilisation of Iraq and Syria, until their progress was arrested at the battle of 'Ain Jalut (1259) on their way to Egypt. They ruled as a nomadic power in Russia and Eastern Europe, and in Persia and China they were overwhelmed by the vast mass of the local populations and lost their language,

culture and religion, and became merged among the Persians and the Chinese. The Mongols fortunately for India never came within her borders, although they followed in pursuit up to the banks of the Indus Jalaluddin, the Persian King of Chorasmia (Khwarezm) in Central Asia whom tney were cut to destroy with his people.

The Turks showed greater tenacity as a people, and although owing to the smallness of their number they were lost within two centuries among the masses of Persians and Afghans in Eastern Iran and Afghanistan and among the Moslems of Hindu origin in India. They could however hold their own in maintaining their language and nationality in the lands of the Near East (parts of Iran, Northern Mesopotmia and Asia Minor) where they became established in large numbers.

Apart from the short-lived Arab episode in Sindh, when that part of India was conquered in 712 by the Arabs from Iraq, North India was won over to Islam by the Turks. They obtained a foothold in Afghanistan, and with their Iranian (Persian and Afghan—the latter not yet wholly converted to Islam) clients and subjects the Turkish princes with their soldiers of Turkish origin began to undertake plundering raids and attacks of harrassment against India from the middle of the 10th century A. D. We have the empire of the Turki king Mahmud of Ghazna in the 10th-11th centuries, who led his twelve spectacular raids into various parts of North India, and who finally conquered and annexed the province of Punjab as an integral part of his empire.

Mahmud of Ghazna was the beau-ideal of the Turki Muslim hero-king, conspicuous for bravery and strategy in war, for his zeal for an iconoclastic Islam, and for his patronage of the arts and letters. He was Turki in speech, but like all Turks settled among Iranians, he had accepted the culture and literary traditions of Persia, and was a patron of a Persian national literature by commissioning the poet Firdausi to write his great epic on the history of the Kings of Persia, the immortal *Shāh-nāmah*, in Persian. He also patronised Al-Bīrūnī, one of the greatest scholars and scientists of history, and unquestionably the most erudite scholar of his time in the entire civilised world of Europe, Asia and Africa, to write his various works in the Islamic language of science and culture, Arabic. In the coins Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna struck for his Hindu subjects in the newly conquered state of Punjab, this Turki monarch and conqueror did an innovation which was the first and the last of its kind in the history of Muslim numismatics; and this was in all probability done with the advice or suggestion of Al-Bīrūnī. He struck coins at Lahore with the usual legend in Arabic characteristic of Islamic coins on one side, and on the other he gave a Sanskrit translation of the same Arabic legend (the Arabic legend in a typical coin of this type ran like this. *Lā ilāha illā'llāh* : *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*—which is the *Kalīma* or Muslim creed ('there is no god excepting the one God, Allah : and Mahammad is his prophet) : *as-Sultān Maḥmūd* : *duriba hadha ad-Dirham fi Lāhaur* : ('the King Mahmud : this *dirham* has been struck at Lahore) : *sanah hijira* ('year . . . . . of the Hijira era'). The Sanskrit translation is loose, but we see the hand of Al-Bīrūnī in this : *Avyaktam ekam* (='the Inexplicable, or the

Formless One, is One), *Muhammada Avatāra* ('Muhammad is his manifestation) : *Nṛpati Muhamūda* (King Mahmūd) : *ayaṃ tanko Mahamūda-pure ghaṭṭe hataḥ* ('this silver coin has been struck in the mint at Mahmudpur') : *Jināyana samvat* . . . . . ('in the year of the passing of the *Jina* or divine sage the Prophet). This tran lation has been done it would appear with a Suffistic interpretation of Islam. But it shows the solicitude of the Turki Sultan for his Hindu subjects whom he wished to be informed about the creed of Islam, and whose sentiments for their own language he had kept in mind. Maḥmūd of Ghazna, although he aspired to be known to posterity as a *but-shikan* or 'image-breaker', with no tolerance for the Hindu religion, showed himself in other ways also to be interested in Hindu literature and culture.

After the Ghazna empire, the rulers of which were Persian-using Turks who helped to establish Persian as the Official Language of the Muslim States and as a language of law and administration and of general culture, the Turki house of the Ghorī Sultāns came in towards the end of the 12th century. The Ghorī Sultāns defeated the Rajput rulers of North India, and after the defeat and death of Prithwīrāj Chauhān of Delhi and Ajmer at the second battle of Tirauni in 1195 by Sabuktagin Muhammad Ghori, Hindu rule in North India was virtually at an end, and from 1203 started the period of the first Turki Sultans of Delhi, the Kings of the Slave Dynasty. They were responsible for bringing the whole of North India from Punjab to Assam (excepting Rajasthan, Central India and Orissa) under the banner of Islam. It was the rough and ready means of conquest and forcible proselytisation "in the Turkish

way" (*Turkāna tariqah*) that Islam began to spread, but use of force in this matter was not so successful in the long run. The opposition of Hindu and Turk originated as a powerful feature in Hindu-Muslim relations for seven centuries during the early days of this struggle for rule over North India.

Although the Turks were the dominant people during 12th-13th centuries, their power dwindled, the Muslims of Afghan (or Pathan) and Indian origin took their place. In language, these Iranised Turks could not hold their own, and as they were small in number, and not many Turki women had come to India, the Turks settled in India had to take wives from among the Indian people, whether Hindu or Muslim, or if they could, from the Afghans and Persians. The pure Turk gradually ceased to exist, except in name—they became half-castes and quadroons, and octroons, and erelong became in blood almost pure Indians, although they retained (with the name *Turk* as an inheritance from their fathers) a good bit of the aggressiveness in life and religion of the original Turki *conquistadores*. The administrative system remained basically Hindu, superimposed by Muslim personal law and by some Persian usages and practices. The Turks of the first centuries spoke Turki amongst themselves, kept on their Turki names for some generations (e.g. names like *I-tagin*, *Aibak*, *Iltutmish*, *Tughan Khan*, *Tughril Khan*, *Arslan Khan*, *Qutlugh Khan*, later *Chin-gilich Khan* etc.) and introduced into india some of their titles and names of offices (*Khān*, *Beg*, *Āghā*, *Khawāja*, *Yalchī*, *Bahādur*, *Bakhshī*, *Dārogha*) as well as titles for ladies of high state (*Khānum*, *Begum*, and *Khātun*—the last being from the

Iranian), they rapidly became Indian (Panjabi, Hindustani, Bengali) in speech and Persian in culture. The Turks never left a single inscription in India in their own language—their first inscriptions were a few in Arabic, but mostly they were in Persian. While we have over 2500 common Persian (or Perso-Arabic) loan words in Bengali and an unlimited number in the Urdu form of Hindustani, the number of Turki words comes upto only about 45 in Bengali, and about 80 in Urdu (Hindustani) and these Turki words are mostly common words used in the ordinary affairs of life, no learned or high-brow words confined to the learned. This shows only the practical aspect of Hindu-Turk contacts. But these Turki words in Indian languages have all been Persianised first in their phonetics and orthography before finding a place in Hindustani or Bengali (see in this connexion Dr. S. K. Chatterji's '*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Calcutta University, 1926, Vol. I, pp. 192-196, 201-211, and pp. 559-619, on the Persian element in Bengali).

Inspite of *Turk* and *Hindu* becoming two oppositions which could not be at once reconciled, time proved a great factor, and continuity and contact brought in some sort of understanding and compromise. This resulted in an attempt, which was largely successful, in harmonising the two conflicting culture-worlds, and a composite Hindu-Turk or Hindu-Persian, or Hindu-Muslim culture gradually took its rise in India, from the 16th century onwards, culminating in the 18th century when the Hindu Marathas became a power in India which was so long dominated by Muslims of Turk, Pathan and Indian origin. Then came in the age of

British power, and the establishment of the British Indian empire, which legally put an end to all special privileges and powers of the Muslim over the Hindus which had started as a consequence of the conquest of North India by Turki Muslims. But this eagerly expected union among Hindus and Muslims was thwarted by the policy of the British rulers to have disunion between Hindus and Muslims which alone could be able to perpetuate British rule over India. Particularly after the Indian Mutiny, and then after the starting of the National Freedom Movement (mainly by the Hindus) from the first decade of this century, the Hindu-Turk or Hindu-Muslim complex was sedulously kept alive, and without the Muslims and the Hindus knowing it, created a greater and greater rift between them by offering special privileges now to the Hindus, and now to the Muslims.

The ideological unity of Islamic countries under a Turkish Caliph brought in dreams of Pan-Islamism among the larger section of the Indian Muslims, to the detriment of a common Hindu-Muslim *Indian* patriotism. But with the change of the times, and development of a historical and national sentiment among the Turks in Asia Minor and Europe, who were looked upon as leaders of Islamic States, Pan-Islamism lost its charm among Turks, and the *Yeni-Turan* Movement with its glorification of the Turanian or Altaic Past of the Turks became among them the dominant idea. This also had its repurcussions in India.

The last great upheaval brought into India as a result of the Turk *vs* Hindu, or Hindu *vs* Muslim (Turk having become identical with Muslim) idea was

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the Partition or rather vivisection of India. While the Turki peoples both in the lands—Western Turkey (The Republic of Turkey, the creation of the Osmanli Turks) and in the Soviet Turki States (like Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kirghizistan, Kazakhistan, Bashkiristan etc.) are forging ahead, and the Arab States are dreaming of an Arab nationality binding together only the Arab-speaking countries, Pakistan alone is still hoping to have a Muslim confederacy as against a Hindu India. It is only for the not very distant future to disclose how long the Turki *vs* Hindu complex, as inherited by the ruling power in West Pakistan, will endure.

(IV) *Hindu or Indian and Turki Relations : India and the Turki lands of Central Asia and Western Asia—a New Phase.*

In spite of the Hindu-Turk relations being mutually hostile at the outset of the Muslim Turki conquest, the basic fact remains that there was a gradual approachement between the Hindu spirit and the spirit of the Turo-Iranian Muslim. It was due to inevitable advance from both the sides. The Indian Muslim, in spite of the zeal which has naturally enough manifested at times as a new convert, was after all an Indian who could not wholly shed off his national character and mental make up. Practically he has remained an imperfectly converted Muslim, and it was Persia, Central Asia and Arabia which were foreign to him. The Hindu also came to observe and understand the Muslim as best as he could ; and besides, particularly from the 16th century, under the Moguls, he began to study Persian and to take an extra-parochial interest in things through

the international implications of the Persian language and its literature, particularly its historical literature. In the 16th century, a Brahman reading Persian was looked upon as being partly denationalised. In the 18th century, it was expected of a Brahman of a high aristocratic family with dealings with the Muslim court in his province and with ambitions for office, preferment and privilege. Hindus also began to distinguish themselves in Persian literature, including poetry, and both Hindus and Muslims produced a notable Indo-Persian literature. Sufi influences were silently at work, bringing closer together the Hindu Vedantist *Guru* and the Sufi *Murshid* or *Pīr* whose teachings were condemned as *be-sharā* or against the law of the Quran by the orthodox Mullas. Hindus and Muslims began to take part in their great festivals like Holi and Diwali, Durga Puja and Ramlīlā, Īd and Muharram and in Hindu religious ceremonies like *Satyanārāyaṇa-Kathā* and Muslim ones like *Milād Sharīf*. This was not just out of mere politeness only, or some kind of real interest, or as in the case of most Muslims (who were not strengthened or hardened in their Islam by orthodox teaching, but lived and breathed in the genuine Hindu atmosphere of India), out of conviction also. Persian translations of Indian religious and other works from Sanskrit for Muslim readers were encouraged from the time of Akbar. A common culture grew up, particularly in North India, and in the big towns of South and Eastern India. Persian and then Hindi and Sanskrit, and a mixed Persianised Hindi called Urdu (or Hindustani) from the 18th century, became the vehicles of this composite Neo-Indian Hindu-Muslim (or Hindu-Turk, to give the old appelation) culture. The dress of the *elite* (except for

the Hindus in their intimate social and religious observances) became the same—a pan-Indian dress, part Rajput, part Turko-Iranian, but not Arab. The court ceremonial was also a complex. The Indian culinary art, specially in meat-cooking, became a reflex of that of Turan (the Turki world of Central Asia) and of Iran, while India retained her individuality in her vegetable dishes and sweets and chutneys, and in her fish preparations as in Bengal. Indian music, particularly in the North (Hindusthani Music), became a single national system, with elements from the music of Central Asia, Iran and Arabia adopted and thoroughly assimilated with the Hindu system. Some foreign (Iranian, Arab and Turki) musical instruments became naturalised in India, and some of the greatest exponents of the national Indian Music are Muslims. Indian classical music of this type is appreciated and welcomed (as in Indian films, and from Indian master singers and players both Hindu and Muslim) in Turkish Central Asia, in Iran, in Turkey, in the Caucasus region, in Egypt and other Arab countries.

All human progress in civilisation has always been the result of contact and harmony, and not of conflict and strife. So it has been ultimately in India—a newer and a richer culture emanated finally through understanding and co-operation between the Hindu and the Turk and Iranian. The removal of the British from the Indian scene, and Indian Independence have removed one great obstacle to the desideratum of a complete Integration of the words of the Hindu and the 'Turk'. Progressive movements have also been established and have come to bring about an understanding of this pre-

Islamic past and a sense of pride and glory in it among the Western Turks—the Osmanlis of the Republic of Turkey. He succeeded signally in modernising the mind of the Western Turk by bringing in innovations in dress and deportment and social and other usage, and in establishing the Latin script for the Turkish language. A new awareness of their duty to themselves and to the world of humanity has as a result come to them. The abolition of the hieratic state with its religiosity implied by the institution of the *Khilāfat* has made the Turks secular in spirit and more alive to the civilised world outside. Education, and Science and Humanities are spreading, and with them Technology and Industry. The Turkish State has created a library of over a thousand books for Turkish readers—the world's best classics from all languages, ancient and modern, translated into Roman Turkish. Indian (Sanskrit) works like the *Pañcatantra* and the *Mṛcchakatika* are already there, and other books are coming out. Rabindranath Tagore has won the heart of the Turkish intellectual *élite*, and the Turks are keen to form closer ties with India, cultural and economic. There is a full fledged department of Indology and Ankara University (founded by Mustafa Kemal Ata-Turk in 1934), and Dr. Abidin Itil, Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Studies, who had specialised in Sanskrit in Poona in India for two years, as a great lover of Indian thought and literature is actively at work there. Dr. Zeki Velidi Togan of Istanbul University, one of the most erudite scholars of Turkey, has already helped the Dairat-al-Maarifa of Hyderabad by editing an abstruge mathematical Treatise in Arabic by Al-Bīrūnī which has been published by the Daira. "La Politerse Turque", with the emancipation and enlighten-

ment of the Turkish mind, is once again coming to the fore. The practical common sense of the Turk is found in their adopting of English as the language of Instruction in their new Scientific and Technological University, the ODTU (*Orta Dogu Teknik University*) or the METU *Middle East Technical University*) at Ankara, where Turkish young men and women, along with young men and women from over 18 countries in the Middle East, are given a thorough training in Medicine, Engineering, Agriculture and other Technical lines. All this augurs well for a closer touch between Turkey and other countries, and particularly with India.

The other great *bloc* of Turki-speaking peoples, in the USSR, in Central Asia and in Azerbaijan in the Caucasus, are with Russian guidance similarly making phenomenal progress. They have to study Russian, naturally, but they show a tremendous interest as well as aptitude for English and Indian languages like Hindi. They have not forgotten in Tashkent and Samarqand about the connexions they had had with India—if not our prehistoric connexions exactly, our historical connexions for the last 2000 years through Buddhism and through their adventuring in India. A genuine interest in and even affection for India can now be noticed everywhere in Central Asian Turkestan. Babur and the early Moguls have become a sort of golden link between India and Tnrkestan, as much as Rabindranath Tagore and other Indian writers have done in recent years—particularly Rabindranath. The literary and cultural advancement of the Soviet Turkestan states is astonishing, and this will be a common platform where India

can stand and join hands with the lands of the Turks, both in the USSR, and in the Republic of Turkey, and both of them can together take up the service of humanity, in which Turkish contribution has been quite noteworthy.

NOTE ON A KĀRIKĀ ASCRIBED TO BHARTṚHARI

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While commenting on the *Mahābhāṣya* under P. iii.i.8, Kaiyaṭa quotes a Kārikā as from Bhartṛhari, in the following manner :[1]

व्यापारो नाश्रयणीयः प्रयत्नमन्तरेणापीष्टस्य सिद्धत्वादित्यर्थः । क्यच्चागमकत्वान्न भवति । तदुक्तं हरिणा—

सदपीच्छाक्यचः कर्म तदाचारक्यचा हृतम् ।
वाक्यवाच्यमतोऽव्यक्तेः यथाभ्यासः क्रमादिषु ।।

The Kārikā has also been quoted by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his *Śabda Kaustubha* with the words '*taduktaṁ Hariṇā*'.[2] Bhaṭṭoji reads *ato vyakteḥ* instead of *ato avyakteḥ*. Nageśa, in his *Uddyota* and Bhaṭṭoji in his *Śabda Kaustubha*, give a word-for-word explanation of this Kārikā.

The Kārikā is not found in the present editions of the *Vākyapadīyā* and has been included in Appendix iv of K. V. Abhyankar and V. P. Limaye's edition of *Vakyāpadīya*,[3] which gives a list of 28 quotations ascribed

1. *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya* with *Pradīpa* and *Uddyota*, p. 38. (Nirnaya Sagar edn., Bombay, 1937).

2. Ś. K., p. 315 (*Śabda Kaustubha*, Vol. ii, Fas. 5 to 10, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Banares, 1929).

3. University of Poona Skt. & Pkt. Series, Vol. ii, Poona, 1965.

to Bhartṛhari, but not found in the extant *Vākyapadīya*. While going through the *Vṛttisamuddeśa* of the *Vākypadīya*, we come across two Kārikās which give approximately the same sense as expressed by the Kārikā quoted by Kaiyaṭa. These two Kārikas run as follows :

आक्षेपाच्च प्रयोगेण विषयान्तरवर्तिना ।
सदपीच्छाक्यचः कर्म वाक्य एव प्रयुज्यते ॥
प्रसिद्धेन वृतः शब्दो भावगर्हाभिधायिना ।
अभ्यासे तुल्यरूपत्वान्न यङन्तः प्रयुज्यते ॥

—V. P., *Vṛtti*, 72-73.[4]

We see that the subject-matter of the present two Kārikās and that of the Karika quoted by Kaiyaṭa is precisely the same. Bhartṛhari here means to say that the object (*karma*) of a denominative verb formed by the suffix *kyac* in the sense of 'wishing', though possible, is used only in the sentence and not in the complex formation. For, in the complex formation, when the object is there, *kyac* is perceived in the sense of 'treating' and not in that of 'wishing'. When one says *putrīyati māṇavakam*, the sense that automatically comes out is: '*putramivācarati māṇavakam*', he treats the boy as his son', and not '*māṇavakaṁ putramicchati*', 'he desires the boy as his son'. Bhartṛhari explains this through an analogy. In *caṅkramyate* and *lolupyate* when the affix *yaṅ* has been added by P. iii.i.23 and iii.i.24, the sense of the 'crookedness in motion' and the 'contempt in the action' respectively, is invariably conveyed. So the affix *yaṅ* in the sense of repetition by P. iii.i.22 is not added. This analogy has been mentioned in Kārikā 73 of the *Vṛttisamud-*

4. *Vākyapadīya*, Kand iii. Pt. ii, *Vṛttisamuddeśa*, Trivandrum, 1942.

deśa. But in the Kārikā quoted by Kaiyaṭa, the analogy is inherent in a single phrase, viz. *yathābhyāsaḥ kramādiṣu*.

Thus, we find that the sense is precisely the same in both places. The discussion has been made here, on an important aspect of *Kṛt Vṛtti* and the *Vṛttisamuddeśa* is the most suitable place for such a discussion. Therefore, it is very difficult to say that the Kārikā quoted by Kaiyaṭa, could have been from some other part of *Vākyapadīya*. Even from the way in which Bhaṭṭoji refers to this Kārikā, it seems that he did not have this Kārikā in the *Vākyapadīya*, as it existed before him. At the same place, he quotes both, the Kārikā quoted by Kaiyaṭa as well as the two Kārikās found in the extant *Vākyapadīya*. But, while he locates the two Kārikās found in the extant *Vākyapadīya* in the *Prakīrṇakāṇḍa*,[5] he is silent over the location of the Kārikā quoted by Kaiyaṭa and simply remarks: *taduktaṁ Hariṇā*. The citation of this Kārikā as well as the remark *taduktaṁ Hariṇā*' seem to have been made on the authority of Kaiyaṭa. This possibility is also supported by the fact that during his explanation of the Kārikā quoted by Kaiyaṭa, Bhaṭṭoji criticises the author of *Vivaraṇa*, a

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5. उक्तं च प्रकीर्णकाण्डे :

सदपीच्छाक्यचः कर्म वाक्य एव प्रयुज्यते ।
प्रसिद्धेन हृतः शब्दो भावगर्हाभिधायिना ।
अभ्यासे तुल्यरूपत्वान्न यङ्न्तः प्रयुज्यते ॥

Ś. K., p. 315.

commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya Pradīpa,*[6] for misinterpreting the word *kramādiṣu* as *kramapāṭhādiṣu.*[7]

Could it be a citation from some other work of Bhartṛhari? So far we know only of *Mahābhāṣya Dīpikā* (or *Ṭīkā*), which is another work of Bhartṛhari on Sanskrit Grammar. If Bhartṛhari wrote the commentary only on three *pādas Mahābhāṣya,* there is no chance for the Kārikā being there, because the Mahābhāṣya discusses the question under p. iii.i.8. Pt. Yudhishthira Mimansaka goes to prove that Bhartṛhari wrote his commentary on the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya.*[8] But at the same time, he accepts,[9] that by the time of I-tsing (7th century A. D.) the size of the commentary could have been diminished to 25000 verses (i. e. app. only three *pādas.*[10] By the time of Vardhamana (12th cen-

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6. Vide *Itihāsa,* Vol. I, p. 389 (*Saṁskṛta Vyākaraṇā Śāstra kā Itihāsa*—Pt. Yudhisthira Mimansaka, Ajmer, V. Saṁvat 2020).

7. एतेन यथेति क्रमादिषु यथा वेदादिविषयाभ्यासो व्यज्यते तथा वाक्ये इच्छाक्यदः कर्मेत्यर्थः । अथवाऽभ्यासक्रमादिष्वित्येकं पदम्, अभ्यासेन वर्णक्रमादिविषयाभिव्यक्तिर्भवति तथा वाक्ये कर्मत्वविषयाभिव्यक्तिरित्यर्थः इति विवरणं प्रत्युक्तम् ।

Ś. K. p. 215.

8. (a) Itihasa, pp. 353-355.
   (b) Besides the arguments adduced by Pt. Yudhisthir Mimansaka, there is another internal evidence to show that Bhartṛhari intended to write his commentary on the whole of the Mahābhāṣya, under p. I.i.ii, Bhartṛhari himself says that the question would be discussed in detail under the Vārtika on P. ii.1.1.

तदेतत् समर्थवार्तिक एव निर्णेष्यते ।

(Mahābhāṣya Dīpikā, p. 164, line 17, B. O. R. I., Poona, 1970).

9. *Itihāsa,* p. 355, line 14 ff.
10. Ibid. p. 353.

tury A. D.) too, it was available only upto three *pādas*.[11] Furthermore, though Kaiyaṭa quotes profusely from the *Vākyapadīya*, he does not generally quotes from the *Mahābhāṣya Dīpikā*.[12] Lastly, the commentary has been written by Bhartṛhari, in prose and not in verses. For all these reasons, it is not possible to locate the Kārikā in the *Mahābhāṣya Dīpikā*.

Can it be, that originally, there was only one Kārikā, and for clariy's sake it was subsequently transformed into two ? This possibility may be rejected on the authority of Helārajā. Helārāja takes up some words of the Kārikās for explanation, from which we may infer that he had before him, both the Kātikās as found in the present *Vākyapadīya*. For instance, he explains the word *viṣayāntaravartinā* of Kārikā 72,[13] and *bhāvagarhābhidhāyinā* of Kārikā 73.[14] If there had been such an

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11. Vardhamāna explicitly refers to the commentary as *Mahābhāṣya Tripādī*.

भर्तृहरिवाक्यपदीयप्रकीर्णकयोः कर्ता महाभाष्यत्रिपाद्यव्याख्याता च ।

Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, ed. J. Eggling, p. 2.

12. (a) *Itihāsa*, p. 368, lines 15 ff.

(b) Mr. V. Swaminathan also says : "Though Kaiyaṭa has borrowed a great deal from Bhartṛhari's commentary, he does not generally quote from the latter in his *Pradīpa*."

"Bhartṛhari's authorship as the commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*," *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXVII, Pts 1-4, p. 61.

13. विषयान्तरमाचारलक्षणं तदाचिनोपमानक्यचः प्रयोगेण... ।

—Helārāja, *Vṛtti* 72.

14. भावगर्हाभिधायिनेत्यस्योपलक्षणार्थत्वात् कौटिल्याभिधायिनेत्यपि द्रष्टव्यम् ।

—Ibid. 73.

alteration as anticipated above, Helārāja must have known it and would have referred to it. We cannot say that Kaiyaṭa refers to the original reading and Helārāja did not know it. For, the gap between them is not very wide one.[15]

Thus in the present state, it would not be unreasonable to assume that Kaiyaṭa here, is not quoting the text verbatim. Rather, he makes a condensation of two Karikas into one and quotes it in the name of the original writer. This tendency of condensation or *arthānuvāda* is not uncommon among Sanskrit writers. Another example of the condensation of these very Kārikās is found in the *Hṛdayahāriṇī*, a commentary by Nārāyaṇa Daṇḍanātha[16] on the *Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja. There the Kārikā has been given without the mention of the name of the author :

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15. Helārāja has been assigned to the early half of the 10th century A. D. ; vide Pt. Charudeva Shastri—*Bhartṛhari, a critical study with special reference to Vākyapadīya and its commentaries*, PAIOC-V-1930, p. 652; Prof. K.A.S. Iyer—*Bhartṛhari*, pp. 39-40 (Poona 1969); P. S. Sharma—Introduction to the *Kālasamuddeśa of Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīya*, pp. 6-9 (Delhi, 1972). Kaiyaṭa has been placed in the earlier or the later part of 11th century A. D. ; vide—K.B. Pathak—*Jinendrabuddhi Kaiyaṭa and Hardatta*, ABORI Vol. xii, p. 251 : S. C. Chakravarti—Introduction to *Bhāṣā Vṛtti*, p. 4 (Rajsthani—1918), Pt. Yudhiṣthirā Mimansaka—*Itihāsa*, p. 368 ; Dr. S. K. Verma—*Saṁskṛta Vyākaraṇa kā Udbhava aur Vikāsa*, p. 241 (Delhi, 1971). However, this does not make a very long gap, especially in view of the fact, that both Kaiyaṭa and Helārāja belong to the same province.

16. His date is yet unknown. Acc. to Pt. Yudhishthir-Mimansaka, he must be earlier than 14th century of Vikrama era—*Itihāsa*, p. 558.

[17]तदुक्तम्——सदपीच्छाक्यचः कर्म तदाचाखयचा हृतम् ।
कोटिल्येनेव गत्यर्थाभ्यासो वृत्तौ न गम्यते ॥

Vinaya Vijayagaṇi (17th or 18th century of Vikrama era) in his *Haima Prakāśa Mahāvyākaraṇa* gives the same Kārikā with the alternation of *Kyac* into *Kyaṅ* :[18]

सदपोच्छाक्यनः कर्म तदाचारक्यनाहृतम् ।
कौटिल्येनेव गत्यर्थाम्यासो वृत्तौ न गम्यते ॥[19]

Therefore, we may reasonably conclude that the two Kārikās found presently in the *Vṛttisamuddeśa* of *Vākyapadīya* are the genuine Kārikās, while the one quoted by Kaiyaṭa and again by Bhaṭṭoji as well as the one quoted by Nārāyaṇa Daṇḍnātha and Vinaya Vijaya Gaṇi are only the condensed form of them.

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17. The *Saraswatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhoja with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa Daṅḍanātha, pt. i, p. 104 (Trivandrum, 1935).

18. It must be noted that this grammar replaces the suffix *Kyac* by *Kyaṅ*. cf. *Siddha Haima Śabdānuśāsana* iii.iv.23 & iii.iv.24.

19. *Haima Prakāśa Mahāvyākaraṇa* ed. by Vijaya Kṣamābhadra Suri, pt. ii, p. 814 (Marwar, 1954).

NOTES ON THE SOUTH INDIAN TEMPLE COMPLEX

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Following construction of the great Cola temples of Tanjore and Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram, South Indian builders abruptly turned from a long, historically established development of the *prāsāda*[1] to lavish their energies upon towering gateways. Ring after ring of enclosing walls were built. The Vaiṣṇava shrine at Śrīraṅgam exhibits seven enclosing walls and with these, twenty-one *gopuras*.[2] Gopura similarly grew in size and magnificence. While the smallest *gopura* may be scarcely more than a doorway, the largest uncompleted specimens are one hundred and fifty feet in width and have been estimated to have had a projected height of approximately three hundred feet[3]–the equivalent of a thirty story office building. Numerous existing *gopuras* are eleven stories high.[4] (These storeys being considerably taller than those used in a contemporary office building, to afford a comparative unit of measure).

The earliest known development of large *gopuras* does, in fact, occur at the Bṛhadīśvara Temple of the Colas at Tanjore. These were so large in comparison to the

1. The towered structure enclosing the central shrine.
2. J. C. Harle, *Temple Gateways of South India* (Oxford, 1963) P. 5.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, p. 16.

examples of pre-existing gateways that J.C. Harle asserts them to be the creation of a new building type toward which previous works had only hinted. Moreover, the Bṛhadīśvara temple provides the earliest extant example of more than one *gopura* placed in line on one side of the shrine, the compound being enclosed by two walls and two axially alligned *gopuras* focusing upon the *Prāsāda*.

The *gopuras* developed here became a prototype which established the basic features of all following enclosures and delineated the architectural form which was to become the dominant feature of South Indian temple development.

Traditional Categories Of Hindu Temple Styles

Traditional categories of Hindu temples concern themselves solely with the temple structure itself and do not account for the larger form of the environment which includes its enclosures. Thus, temples are stylistically categorized according to the development of the tower rising above the central shrine. The classification is geographical rather than sectarian, since temples built for either Śaivas or Vaiṣṇavas show little substantial difference that can be consistently and explicitly identified in actual construction.[5] In the north, the entire curved form of the tower is the *śikhara*, while in the south, the *śikhara* is shortened until it is only the dome which surmounts the normally pyramidal tower which forms its base. This distinction, and the shape

5. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York, 1959), pp. 106, 107.

of the tower, are the principal criteria for identifying Hindu temple types.[6] Three major types are in fact identified in Sanskrit texts on temple architecture: the *Nāgara* or northern style, the *Drāviḍa* or southern style, and the *Vesara* or central style which is found generally in western India, the Deccan plateau and Mysore.[7] The *Tantrasamuccaya* further prescribes an analysis of type by plan, identifying the *Nāgra śikhara* as square, the *Drāviḍa śikhara* as hexagonal or octagnal and the *Vesara śikhara* as round.[8]

Although the pattern of development was geographical, there is overlapping and examples of any one particular style may be found in the other two regions. The *śikhara* which caps the tower, or *prāsāda*, at the Cola temple of Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram is circular, while the tower itself definitely follows *Drāviḍa* prescriptions. Thus the temple can be identified as a *Vesara prāsāda* of the *Drāviḍa* school of architecture,[9] the primary determinant being the form of the *śikhara* and the secondary determinant the overall form of the *prāsāda* which includes the *śikhara*. Once the Colas turned their attention from the *prāsāda* to focus upon the *gopuras* leading to the shrine, the traditional classifications no longer functioned to describe the principal regional differences in Hindu religious architecture.

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6. V. N. Mallaya, *Studies in Sanskrit Text on Temple Architecture* (Annamalainagar, 1949), p. 316.

7. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit.*

8. V. N. Mallaya, *loc. cit.*

9. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 294.

That the *gopuras* had antecedents in earlier building is fairly well established. These gateways are closely preceeded by the Buddhist *toraṇa* and in the earlier village gate from which it is presumed that these former in turn derived.[10] The Pallavas and early Colas had, in fact, generally utilized *Maraka toraṇas*, a free standing arch, on top of two columns when they provided entrances to early structural temples and even, on occasion, to rock--cut shrines and cave temples. The Pallavas, not infrequently, also employed a modest *gopura* form, the distinction being that while the *toraṇa* was capped with an arch, the *gopura*, as we identify it today, denotes a towered entrance topped by a transverse barrel--vaulted roof called a *śāla*. There is evidence of these forms in the eastern entrance to the Shore Temple at Māmallapuram and in the Kailāsanātha at Kāñcīpuram which also has an enclosing wall typical of later developments. Early Cola temples are customarily enclosed within a walled compound and inscriptions refer to the construction of *gopuras*, although there are no ruins of these remaining. By the closing years of Cola dominance the *maraka toraṇa* has been replaced by the *śāla*, and the *gopura* exhibits full expression of its characteristic form.[11]

Why temple builders of the south adopted this mode of development, after year of working with the *prāsāda* as the principle expressive element, has never been clearly resolved.

Translations and summaries of Sanskrit texts that I have located thus far do not yield information sugges-

10. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Bombay, 1956) p. 18.
11. J. C. Harle, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-16.

ting why attention turned from the central shrine to focus on the temple *gopuras*. South Indian *śāstras* do provide proportional and constructual rules for the building of large *gopuras*, but these have been generally adjudged to be somewhat unsophisticated adaptations of earlier rules for the erection of *prāsādas*.[12]

Some Existing Theories Relative to South Indian Temple Development

A. L. Basham speculates that the concentric walling of temple compounds, with gates on four sides, may have been an attempt to fortify the temple, although he willingly concedes that it is difficult to support this theory except on the basis that it may have been done in an attempt to duplicate existing palace design.[13] The idea loses considerable force, however, because there is no corroborating evidence advanced in its support. Nor is it indicated in standard works on the subject that the temple retinue included a substantial armed defense for as would be consistent with extensive fortification. More importantly, the gateways do not conform to efficient practice in the design for defense against armed attack. They lack, first of all, the customary offset, or "dog-leg", circulation routes that effective fortress gates contained within themselves, instead, providing easy staright-through access. The axial alignment of the multiple gates compounds this characteristic and suggests that defense was not the primary motivation behind South Indian temple development.

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12. Ibid, p. 17.

13. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That Was India* (New York,1959) pp. 357-8.

The plan of the fortifications for the city of Tanjore are in sharp contrast to the arrangement of the *gopuras* in the adjoining Bṛhadīśvara compound, those of the city being distinguished by the offsetting of inner gateways from outer ones. (Although it must also be noted here that the plan of Madurai does not exhibit this feature.)[14] Further, the principal openings on the outer walls of the upper floors of the *gopuras* are on the imprudent front face and do not provide for easy defense of the walls to either side. Also, these openings go straight through the rear wall as well, providing maximum visual exposure to besieging forces, and would prove very uncomfortable for anyone who occupied them for the purpose of defense. The marked inward slope of the walls of the gateways is also contrary to established principles indicated by other fortifications. In addition, placing the towers in the center of each wall is highly ineffective, as compared to the usual practice of locating the towers at corners in which customary location with the same number of towers each wall is provided with a defense from two places, whereas the gopura only inefficiently protects the one wall in which it is built. Finally, the concept of a diminutive stronghold, with surrounding walls and towers of increasing height as they spread out in concentric rings, is an unlikely development that has little precedent in other fortifications. The center has no visibility and sacrifices all but a very tenous control of its own situation. A fortification scheme which eliminates effective control from its center anb yields all possible advantage to whoever establishes control if its outermost

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14. Sidney, Toy, *The Fortified Cities of India* (London, 1956) pp. 5-8.

rampart is tactically so unsound as to make its adaptation as a plan of defense highly improbable. Percy Brown also cites the use of the walls for defense and notes that they are occasionally equipped with a platform on the inner side of the compound walls and that the tops of the walls is sometimes of the battlement design.[15] This, however, in the light of points already raised, would seem to most probably be a very secondary and minor use of a wall intended principally for other functions.

Percy Brown does in fact lay greater emphasis on other factors. He contends that the development of concentric enclosing walls with ever larger *gopuras* on the periphery was a historical process. Initially, the sacredness of many South Indian shrines marked them for preservation in their original state, abating the process of rebuilding and renovation that occurred elsewhere. Earliar *gopras* were, then, according to his view, both near to the shrine and relatively small. As the temple grew, additional compounds were extended beyond the existing walls and higher *gopuras* were erected, gradually establishing a higher–further *gopura* motif. This was reinforced, and indeed promoted, by a corresponding increase in ritual and in the concepts built around the image of the god. The inner chambers became a secluded and private habitation of the god while the outer reaches of the compounds became processional areas for ceremonial and festive occasions in his honor. Finally, he notes the possibility, also, of a spiritual concept which he feels has not yet been explicitly defined.[16]

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15. Percy Brown, *op. cit.* p. 106.
16. Ibid, pp. 106-115.

J. C. Harle questions Percy Brown's analysis on several grounds. He points out that there are numerous epigraphs which record the tearing down and replacement of old shrines with new structures — a practice which is still current; concluding that old buildings did not become sancrosanct as such in the South Indian mind. In regard to the thesis of historical development, he contends that a temple such as Madurai cannot be accounted for by this means, since most of it was constructed over a short period of time during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even though he also concedes that the farther–higher *gopura* motif may have already been established by that time and would have then effected even temple complexes built all at one time. He contends that the historical thesis is conclusively refuted, however, by the *gopuras* of the Bṛhadīśvara Temple of Tanjore in which instance, while both *gopuras* were built in the eleventh century and very likely are the first attempt at building more than one enclosure with axially aligned gateways on the same approch, the outer *gopura* is much taller than the inner one.[17] (It should be noted here, however, that the Bṛhadīśvara shrine is unique in other respects as well. While the outer *gopuras* is taller than the inner one, the central shrine is much taller than either *gopura* and in this respect does not illustrate later development of the design scheme).

Stella Kramrisch further asserts that the decrease in comparative size of the *prāsāda* and the ever mounting heights of the rings of *gopuras* must be conceived not as historical happenstance but as a fully preconceived design,

17. J. C. Harle, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

the use of which can be explained as the reassertion in the Indian mind of an inherent design concept. She feels it is significant that, although no actual structural specimens are extant, early examples of the prototype can be seen depicted on the bas reliefs of Barhut and Mathurā, in central and northern India respectively. The reliefs clearly indicate a high structure which encloses a smaller one. Between this early beginning in the north, and its culmination in the *gopuras* of the South, was an interim period marked by the development of the architectural form of the *prāṣāda*. Then there was a return to the earlier method of enclosure and the concept of the hypaethral temple. [18]

The assertion of an inherent design motif such complexity seems to me to present a number of unresolved questions. Why should a motif identified as existing in northern and central India at an early date appear in south India at a later date as an inherent type? The mechanics of the transfer in time and place need to be described. Can we explain why the hypaethral motif is any more inherent than the *prāsāda* motif, the latter being the much more common and in use in virtually all parts of the world and continuing in use in North India throughout this entire period—that is, the erection of a tower over the most holy part of a shrine. Do we even need to posit the presence of inherent types in this instance or, perhaps more accurately, can it not be reasonably claimed that any motif to have been conceived must have been inherent in the creator's mind. If this is so, the

18. Stella Kramrisch, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.

conclusion that the gopura development was a return to an inherent motif is true without being informative, unless the presence of other inherent motifs is revealed as well and unless an explanation is offered as to why one achieved dominance over the others.

It would appear, if we accept that southern architects had knowledge of the hypaethral motif illustrated at Barhut and Mathurā—and such an assumption would seen plausible in view of the Hinduization of the south by northern peoples—that the architects of the Cola Maṇḍalam had two, and possibly more, models of development from which to choose. The first model, which was outlined in Sanskrit texts, advanced the *prāsāda* as the primary element. The second model was the old village gateway-and-*toraṇa* motif which led to the development of successive ring walls and their *gopuras*.

Reasons for the choice of the second model over the former must be looked for in the relation of the temple to its religious, political, social, and economic context: in the functions that it performed for society and the complex of influences which then controlled its development.

INDRĀṆI-KARMA

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The *Śāṇkhayana Gṛ. Sūtra* refers to a rite in the course of the wedding ceremonies. The caption for this rite is "*Indrāṇī-Karma*". The *sūtra* proper, when describing the rite, does not have the name. The *karma*, as recorded by the said *sūtra*, consists of feting four or eight women, having husbands living, with the gifts of food, vegetables, wines etc.[1]

Hass[2] observes in this connection that the scholiast was ignorent about the reason of the name, and suggests that the name of Indrāṇī was associated with this particular ritual because the goddess was believed to be the protector of the household. According to Oldenberg[3] Indra and Indrāṇī are the highest heavenly pair ; and, hence, are indispensible in the marriage ceremonies. He remarks, however, that Indrāṇī does not seem to have played any important part in the ceremony, though it was named after her. Winternitz[4] renders the word as "Indrāṇī fest", obviously fixing his attention on the actual feast to the four or eight women. Criticising this view of Winternitz, Bloomfield says that the *karma* was

1. *Śāṅk. Śr. Sū* I. 11.

2. Dr. E. Hass in *Indische Studien*, V. 293 ; also quoted by Bloomfield *ZDMG* 48, 554, N. 2.

3. *Indische Studien* XV, 126 ; Bloomfield *op. cit. loc.cit.*

4. Bloomfield *op cit. loc. cit.*

a practice undertaken by both the bride and the bridegroom to prevent her from being a widow.[5] He takes support of the passage from the *Taitt. Br.* (III.7)—"*Indrāṇī vā vidhavā bhūyasam*".

The point is, what is the implication of the word *karma*? The *karma* does not seem to be restricted to the feast only, which clearly forms only a part of the former. Though Bloomfield indicates that the karma was for making the bride *avidhavā*, he does not state in clear terms as to what exactly the karma was. The opinion that Indra and Indrāṇī were the heavenly pair also does not give any indication as to the exact nature of the *karma*, nor does it explain why the karma is named only after Indrāṇī, leaving Indra out. It is important to note that Indra is not generally recognized as the norm for a good husband in the Vedic tradition, as far as fidelity is concerned. He is often the paramour. A favourite and traditionally well set way of addressing him was, "The Ram of Medhātithi, the *menā* of Vṛṣaṇaśva, the advancing Bull and the paramour of Ahalya".[6] His way of the deceipt of the guileless wife of the Gandharva Triśīrṣa (*Jaim. Br.*I.125), his relations with the *asura* women Vilistengā (*Atharva* V.VII.38.2), his trickery towards Dīrghajihvī, the Āsurī, (*Jaim. Br.* I.162 ff; *Pañc. Br.*XIII.6.9)[7] and his appearance as an old dancer, with a yoke on his shoulder supporting a basket of cakes and a pot of curds and butter, before Upamā, the wife

5. *Ibid.*

6. Ortel *JAOS* XVI, ccxl; Eggeling, *SBE* XXVI, 81, N.; *Sadv. Br.* III.3.4.18; *Taitt. Ar.* I.12.3.

7. Also Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and the Upaniṣads*, Vol. I, 125.

of Kṣatra,[8] would point out that Indra could not have entered the marriage-ceremonies as the ideal husband as far as fidelity was concerned. This appears to be the probable reason why the *karma* is not named after Indra, but after Indrāṇī.

The worship of Indrāṇī, irrespective of Indra, persisted in the tradition ; and some treatises refer to the *Indrāṇī-pūjā*.[9] The practice seems to be indicated in the *Raghuvaṁśa* in the context of the marriage of Indumatī ; and it is said that there was no hindrance in the marriage due to the presence of śacī.[10] There is no indication, however, as to how the presence was, or in what way it averted the evil. Varāhamihira gives a clearer information on this point and records a custom of worshipping the clay immage of Indrāṇī. The bride took the image of Indrāṇī, prior to the marriage-day, in procession to a tank or a river. There she took bath and worshipped the image. The image was brought back home and was worshipped till the day of the marriage. Even in this account the accent seems to be on the worship of Indrāṇī ; and it is not quite clear if this is the same as the *Indrāṇī-karma*. The word *karma* indicates a ritual ; and hence, the point has to be further investigated.

The *Śāṅk. Gṛ. Sū.* has a verse in connection with the marriage ceremonies, which places the bride in line

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8. *Ibid* N. 13.

9. Kane, *History of Dharmashastra* II-1, 536. *Samskāra Kaustubha*, p. 756. *Samskara Ratnamala*, quoted by Kane.

10. *Raghuvamśa* VII, 3.

with śaci, *vāvā tā* Aditi and Apālā.[11] In this verse the word to be noted is not only *avidhavā* but also *suputrā* In the marriage-hymn from the Ṛgveda (X.85) Indra, of all the gods, is invoked to bestow upon the newly wedded girl ten sons making her husband the eleventh (v. 45 cd). In the same hymn in an earlier verse (25cd) he is invoked in the same way to make the bride *suputrā*. In both these places he is called *Mīḍhvas*,[12] which indicates his capacity to "spray" for impregnation. The latter verse appears also in the *Atharva V.* (XIV.1.1), which further refers, in the same hymn, to Mahānagnī and Apālā, citing the famous verse from the hymn of Apālā (VIII.90.7) which was recited at the time of the pre-marital purificatory bath of the bride. Thus the bride, Apālā, Mahānagnī, Vāvātā, and Śacī who is the same as Indrāṇī comes in the same line. The identification of the Indrāṇī, the Mahānagnī and Apālā has to be well marked. Mahānagnī and Apālā are the norm of perfection to be achieved by the bride. Out of these two, Mahānagni features in the Vedic ritual of the Horse-sacrifice : and, according to the tradition, is seen in the form of the *parivṛktā* queen, who also represents the naked Earth (which is the same as the Mahānagnī.[13] Even in the case of Apālā, who is the norm for fructified womenhood,[14] her close association

11. *Śāṅk. Gṛ Sū* I.12.6 ; with this verse the bride was pricked with a boar tusk.

12. cf V. 45, *imām tvàm indra mīḍhvaḥ suputrām subhàgām kṛuṇu* and v. 25, *yàth eyàm indra mīḍhvaḥ suputrā subhàgā-sati.*

13. For a full discussion see Dange S. A. *Vedic Concept of 'Field' and the Divine Fructification*, Bombay Univ. 1971, ch. I and ch. IV.

14. *Ibid.*

with the field is prominent (cf. *urvarā* at VIII.90.5 : 6). Again the purificatory bath of the bride through the hole of the yoke (of the plough), along with that of the chariot and the cart, identifies the bride with the field.[15] The motif is the same as in the word *kṣetra* used for the woman. This back-ground has to be taken into account in understanding the real nature of the Indrāṇī that figures in the wedding ceremonies. As Mahānagnī and Apālā denote, in the wedding-setting the fructification of the bride bringing her on par with the Earth, so does Indrāṇī. The Ṛgveda has one significant reference in this connection. In the hymn of Vṛṣākapi it is said about her, that her husband never dies due to old age (X.86.11, *na hy 'asyā aparāñ ca na jarasā marate patiḥ*). This shows Indrāṇī to be endowed with a prolonged married life, which is complete with progeny. The cause is that her husband Indra never gets devoid of virility, though apparently he may be old. This is exactly the reason why Indra is invoked, of all the gods, to bestow sons upon the bride (X.85.25 ; 45) as we have already noted. In other Vedic texts (*Mait. Sam.* III.8. 4 ; IV.12.1 : *Kāṭhaka Sam.* VIII.17.62 : *Taitt. Br.* II.4.2. 7 : 8) Indrāṇī is represented as having her hips thirty leagues in expanse, and having in her vulva the strong Indra. In the same context she is called *Pṛthvī* and *Dhanañjayā*. This, with Indrāṇī's association with Apālā and the *Mahānagnī*, clearly indicates that she was conceived of as the expansive Earth in her form as the ploughable field. The *Indrāṇī-karma*, thus appears to have reference to the fructification of the bride-earth

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15. *Ibid* for the bath see also Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpa Sutras*, Delhi, 1959, p. 228.

identified with the Indrāṇī-earth : the boar-pick indicates the symbolic act of fertilization.

Varāhamihira, as we have noted, refers to the image of Indrāṇī being prepared in clay, which symbolizes the field like the lump of clay that figures in the dialogue between the husband and the wife in the ploughing ritual.[16] The identification between the bride and the ploughable field is not very clearly marked in the Vedic marriage-rites. But ploughing actually forms a part of the marriage-ceremony in certain tribes. Thus among the Bedar, the bride-groom scatters rice and *dal*-seeds (pulses) on some white-ant earth collected earlier and arranged near five pots filled with water. By the time the wedding is concluded the seeds sprout up. These sprouts are then culled by the pair and thrown into a village-well.[17] Among the Mala tribe of South India the bride-groom cuts a few furrows in the ground with his knife, and the bride fills them with grain.[18]

An important point in the *Indrāṇī-karma* appears to be the gonig of the bride out to take bath. This with the variation of the ploughing ritual, is observed by certain tribes. In Bengal it is customary for the parents of the bride to go to fetch water which is later used in the marriage-rituals. The father strikes the surface of the water with a stroke of an axe he has already carried with him ; and the mother immediately collects

16. Ram Gopal, *Ibid*, p. 427 ; for an interpretation of this rite see Dange S. A *op. cit.* "Field and the Plough-share."

17. Thurstin, *Castes and Tribes of South India,* Madras, 1909, Vol. I, p. 205.

the water from the place of the stroke in a jar. The mouth of the jar is immediately closed only to be opened by the bride-groom on the day of the marriage.[19] Among the Birhors the axe-strokes are given by an un-widowed woman who accompanies the bride.[20] Among the Mundas the bride herself fetches the water in a pitcher. The bride-groom meets half way on her return; and shoots an arrow through the loop of her arm formed by holding the pitcher.[21] This may be compared with the Apālā *kanyā*, resorting to the water-stream and meeting Indra on her way (VIII.90.1, *kanyā vār avā yatī*). In all these rituals the motif appears to be common-going of the bride to the tank or the river; and, as another phase, the dig of the plough-share giving place to the striking by the knife, the stroke of the axe or the shooting of the arrow, all suggesting the fructifying dart. It is not absolutely improbable that in the Vedic ritual called the *Indrāṇī-karma* the same motif was present, and later got forgotten, as the purificatory bath of the bride through the hole of the yoke with the Apālā verse (Ṛgv. VIII.91-7) itself got obsolete in the present day marriage rituals. In as much as Apālā meets Indra, and is said to have been made lustrous by him, indicating the gain of potent womanhood leading to

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18. *Ibid*, Vol. IV, p. 364.

19. Nilakshi Sengupta, *Evolution of Hindu Marriage*, Bombay, 1965, p. 78.

20. *Ibid*.

21. *Ibid*.

motherhood (Ṛg V. VIII.91-5 ; 6), the hymn of Apālā[22] has to be taken as the most ancient place of suggesting the *karma*, called later the *Indrāṇī-karma*. The name of Apālā in the verse including in the ritual of *Indrāṇī-karma*, leaves no doubt about it.

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22. The interpretation of Ram Gopal to the effert that Apālā is the river, hence, cannot be accepted ; for his interpretation see, "A Non-legendary Interpretation of the Apālā Sūkta", *Vishveshvaranand Ind. R: J.* Vol. II ; March 1964. For my views, and a refutation of the above view, see *Vedic Concept of 'field' and Divine Fructification*, Bombay Univ. Publication, 1971, Ch. IV.

GAṄGĀ AND ARTEMIS : CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATIONS OF A THEME

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Throughout her history, Gaṅgā has been portrayed as a triple goddess : *trisrotas*—of the three streams—or *tripathagā*—three directions. The number three, of course, has particular sanctity in India, and has drawn to it a bright constellation of ideas on space, time, and immortality. In the West, it has never failed to color men's thoughts, from the beginnings of philosophy in Mesopotamia, in the Christian Trinity, up through the triadic formulations of Freud and Hegel.

In the Classical world, the triple goddess also figures prominently, in the cults and legends of Artemis, Hecate, and to a lesser degree, Demeter and Hera. A comparison of Gaṅgā trisrotas with her Mediterranean counterpart will serve to deepen our understanding of the River Goddess, her genesis and her primordial affinities.[1] The point of comparison—simple at first—soon extends to significant themes that react in unlikely and revealing ways upon the goddesses who have summoned them. As a triple river, Gaṅgā is said to flow on earth, in heaven, and the underworld. In heaven she is called *Mandākinī*: on earth the *Bhāgīrathī*: and

1. For a brief discussion of the Gaṅgā theme and its origins, see, Steven Darian, "The Ganges in Indian Art," *East and West*, XXIII, No. 1-2 (1973) (off prints not yet received).

below, *Pātāla Gaṅgā*, the *Bhogavatī*, or at times the *Vaitaraṇī*.[2] As the most prominent goddess of Greece,[3] the triune Artemis suggests the perfect contrast. Like Gaṅgā, she is acknowledged in heaven, on earth, and in the underworld.[4] But within the like paradigm, we find surprising inflections, growing chiefly from the impact—of later settlers and invaders—on the original prehistoric cultures in India and the Aegean, and from the different reactions of these cultures in the course of time.

Despite Jung's comment that "triads of gods appears very early at a primitive level,"[5] the tripartite nature of the deity seems especially significant in Indo-European society. The reason may be; as Dumèzil suggests,[6] that the structure of such societies was based on a three fold classification of priests, warriors, and husbandmen. This three-fold quality is prominent throughout Indian thought from the Vedas to Purāṇas and "conditions all its philosophic formulations."[7] However, little in the

2. *Śakuntala*. VII ; *Kumārasambhava*. VII.15 ; *Raghuvaṁśa*. X.64 ; Saṅkara's "*Gangastotram*," in A. and E. Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess* (Madras, 1964), p. 198 ; *Mbh*. Anuśasana-parvan, 26 ; *Rām*. Bāla-Kāṇḍa, 35.

3. Martin Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion* (New York, 1925) p. 28 ; R. E. Witt, *Isis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Ithaca, New York, 1871), p. 142.

4. Witt, p. 142.

5. C. G. Jung, *Symbols of Transformation, Part II* Princeton, 1952), p. 113.

6. George Dumézil, *L'idèologie tripartite des Indo-Europèens* (Brussels, 1958).

7. Buddha Prakash, *Ṛgveda and the Indus Valley Civilisation* (Hoshiarpur, 1966), p. 25.

archaeological strata suggests its prominence in pre-Aryan culture. In Greek religion, some of the pre-Olympian deities reveal a distinctly *two-fold* nature. The female trinity, according to Harrison, "was probably a later stage of development than the duality."[8] We glimpse this in the dyad of Demeter and Kore, whose shrine at Eleusis dates to the seventeenth or eighteenth century B. C.[9] In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (seventh-eighth century B. C.), the oldest literary document on the Eleusinian mysteries, we find the abduction of Persephone, while Triptolemos, later the third figure of the trinity, is mentioned simply as a nobleman of the town (*Homeric Hymns*. II. 1-5;150-155).

Our inquiries bring us clearly within the realm of the Great Goddess, whose first symbolic function in prehistory is one of Mother: the distribution of Aurignac "Venus" figures—from sites in the Pyrennes to north of of the Black Sea —leaves little doubt of this.[10] The early hunting societies contain a strong matriarchal flavor. The pursuit of animals was a full-time occupation and left men little time for other activities.[11] While Paleolithic cave temples depict animals and reedy male figures, sculptural remains are almost exclusively female.[12] Weaving, pottery, preparing food, rearing

8. Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (New York, 1959), p. 242.

9. C. Kerènyi, *Eleusis. Archetypal Image of Mother and Daughter* (New York, 1967), p. 20.

10. Rachel Levy, *The Gate of Horn* (London, 1948), p. 4 and *passim* ; Eric Neumann, *The Great Mother* Princeton, 1955), p. 270.

11. R. Briffault, *The Mothers* New York, 1931), p. 166.

12. Joseph Campbell, *The Masks of God : Primitive Mythology.* (New York, 1959), p. 313.

children, all were the domain of woman. This pattern lasted several hundred thousand years and established the primal symbolic value of woman as mother. All other values are derivative or are attempts to harmonize male-oriented conceptions with this primeval vision.

This female world view was overturned--at least in Greece by the pastoral Indo-European invaders from the north, who drifted down through the passes and across the plains, early in the second millenium B.C., bringing with them an exclusively patriarchal outlook universal among pastoral people.[13] The same invasion occurred in India three of four centuries later. But while the maternal horizon was eventually restored in India, it never fully recovered in Greece. These contrasting responses account for many otherwise unintelligible episodes in myth and religion, especially in our theme of the Great Goddess.

The Greek Artemes evolves from earlier figures in Crete and the Near East, where their signification of human fertility is central, for example, the Lady of Ephesus. But while the Homeric Greeks reject the Mother Goddess, her primal image cannot be effaced. As a concession, her role in fecundity is expressed in partial and inconsistent ways. In legend a virgin Artemis is the patron of childbirth. She dwells in forests and mountains, yet as she explains in Callimachus' encomium : "when women in the pain of parturition call to me from the cities, I must hurry to them. So it was ordained at my birth that I should be their comfort" (Hymn to Artemis." III. 15-25). To protect an

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13. **Briffault, p. 246.**

expectant mother, certain herbs were placed beside her, and at Athens, her bed clothes were removed and dedicated to Artemis Brauronia.[14] The myths contain no plausible explanation for the chosen virginity of the goddess. But the reason is clearly a rejection of the Eternal Feminine in her eponymous role as mother.

Not so in India, where the goddess reclaimed her supernal influence after brief eclipse in the Vedic period. Gaṅgā, as a manifestation of the archetypal female, fully retains her maternal nature. In the legend, of the Vasus, for example, she gives birth to seven children, fathered by a mortal, king Śāntanu (*Rām.* Bāla-kāṇḍa. 37: *Mbh.* Ādi-parvan, 98). We may also note her indirect maternity of Kārttikeya (*Mbh.* Śalya-parvan, 44), as well as her other life-giving properties.

Another facet of the Great Mother is her connection with the underworld. This role develops, by extension, from her primal association with birth. It is an expression of the agricultural revolution and the increasing importance of grain, sedentary farming, and the gradual development of paternal institutions. It reflects the belief that human fertility and fertility of the soil were, in some mysterious way, bound together, that death must precede the coming of grain, that out of death—in the barrenness of nature—issues life in all its fulness. To we moderns, the idea strikes a hollow, if knowing, chord. For its truth balances on a metaphor, the equation of woman with the earth, of the womb with the dark cavern from which all life flows. Nonetheless, even brief glimpse of man's first written speculations

14. Nilsson, p. 82.

confirms that metaphor is one of the earliest modes of thought, rather than a literary refinement. No, clearly, at this time, the equation was made. And the connection, once drawn, offered man a palpable, numinous intermediary with the earth and its bounty.

At the same time, it coupled the mystery of life with the impenetrable chthonian forces of the underworld. While in Greece, the life-engendering values was appropriated by Demeter and Kore, it was this sepulchral quality that constellated around the figure of Artemis, who is described by Hesiod as a companion of Persephone (*Homeric Hymns*, 420-425). Already in the Middle Minoan period (c. 2100-1700 B. C.), her Cretan prototype appears in the dual role as Goddess of fertility and Mistress of the Nether Regions.[15] She is also pictured standing between maned lions, a motif derived from Asia Minor, where the great animals guard her entrance to the other world.[16] Artemis is famous as huntress and as protector of animals. These apparently conflicting themes may be pre-Homeric. The Lady of the Bow confers a talismanic blessing on the hunt, while as a protector, she reaffirms her maternal quality. But though Artemis retains her role as huntress, the Olympian mythology of Classical Greece often reverses the allegory of the chase, and we find numerous examples of nymphs goddesses "hunted" by Zeus or Poseidon for their own passionate ends.[17]

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15. E. O. James, *The Cult of the Mother Goddess* (London, 1959), p. 130.

16. Levy, p. 223.

17. Robert Graves, *The White Goddess* (New York, 1958), p. 445.

In India, the destructive connotations are assimilated to Kālī-Durgā, who nonetheless remain as triple goddesses, offering salvation through the power of blood. In the *Viśvasāra Tantra*,[18] Durgā is described as having three eyes, and, like Śiva, is *Triṣūlinī*, bearing as trident (*Harivaṁśa*. II.107.11),[19] an emblem of the triple world. The prototype of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardinī extends into prehistory, judging from the Iron Age finds of tridents, "one with a wrought iron buffalo attached to the shaft.[20] Like Artemis, she is virgin, maid, and Lady of the Forest" (*Viśvasāra Tantra*, p. 75), whose chastity sustains the heavens (*Mbh.* Virāta-parvan, 6). We find striking resemblance of the animal and even human sacrifices offered to Artemis and to Kālī-Durgā. Diodorus relates, of the journey of the Argonauts : "After they set sail from Thrace and had entered the Pontus, they put in at the Tauric Chersonese, being ignorant of the savage ways of the native people. For it is the custom among the barbarians who inhabit this land to sacrifice to Artemis Tauropolus the strangers who put in there" (*Diod.* IV.44.7). We need but recall the near fate of Hiuen Tsang, who, while travelling down the Ganges north of Prayāg, was captured by a band of pirates and offered as a living sacrifice to the goddess Durgā.[21]

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18. in Avalon, pp. 75 ff.

19. As noted in S. Bhattacharji, *The Indian Theogony* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 167.

20. Bridget and Raymond Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilisation* (Baltimore, 1968), p. 229.

21. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (Delhi, 1961) I, p. 360.

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Gaṅgā, by contrast, while following the triadic formulation, serves in the dark regions the role of redeemer. In prescribing funeral rites, for example, the *Viṣṇu Dharma Śāstra* directs that the bodies of one's dead parents should be burned, their bones collected, and *thrown into the Ganges* (XIX. 19), a deed that will ensure their attaining heaven. In the *Mahābhārata* the hero Yudhiṣṭhira, and his brothers, are found wandering in the hell. Eventually they are met by the god Indra, who leads them to the river of the nether region. "Here is the celestial Gaṅgā," he explains, "sacred and sanctifying the three worlds. Enter it, and you will regain your rightful place" (Svarga-Ārohaṇa-parvan, 97). Vyāsa's summoning the dead warriors, from the same text, further illustrates this redeeming feature (Āśramikavāsika - parvan, 89). But the best example derives from the story of Bhagīratha, the most famous legend describing Gaṅgā's descent from heaven, in which Gaṅgā restores to heaven the "sinful sons of Sagara" (*Rām*, Bāla- kāṇḍa, 41).

With most of the triple goddesses -- Greek and Indian—their chthonian affinity is a gloomy one. This is expected among such figures as Hecate, who presides over the place where "three roads meet"(Pausanias II, 30. 2; Hesiod,*Theog.*, 411-452; Virgil, *Aenied* IV)· But in Greece, even Demeter, goddess of corn and abundance, has her morbid nature, and is sometimes addressed as Erinys,"The Angry One," or Melaina,"Black Demeter" (Pausanias 2.35.3-4; 8. 41. 1). Under Spartan law, a sacrifice to Demeter followed twelve days of mourning

for the dead,[22] who, according to plutarch, were called "Demeter's people."[23] In India, the animal sacrifices to Kālī - Durgā, plus their other mortuary associations are too well-known to need elaboration. Almost alone among the triple goddesses of India and the Aegean. Gaṅgā retains her beneficence in both realms. This may well be due to her primal image as the great river. For while she fits easily into the triadic formulation of the Eternal Feminine, her physical role as a bringer of life (water for irrigation, silt for the fields) quite overshadows her destructive nature, although her floods and shifting course have ruined many villages.

From all that has been said, we may judge the early conception of the Earth Goddess as two-fold; fertility and death. With the ascendance of patriarchal people in the Indo-Greek culture area, we are introduced to a third precinct--sky and heaven.[24] To reflect this new dimension, a third celestial facet is added to the dual goddess, thus relating her to the masculine god the creator--whose realm is the sky. Accordingly, Artemis is provided a genealogy, as a daugher of Leto by the Great Olympian himself (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 915-920; *Diod.* V. 72.5). And the Mistress of the Bow is pictured, as a child, seated on her father's knee, requesting her domain on earth (Callimachus. "Hymn to Artemis. "III.5.15).

22. Walter F. Otto, "The Meaning of the Eleusinian Mysteries," in Joseph Campbell (ed.), *The Mysteries* (New York, 1955), p. 20.

23. Plutarch, *de fact. in orb. lun.* XXVIII, in Harrison, p. 275.

24. V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans* (New York, 1926) pp. 5,81, *passim*.

This celestial affinity of the Great Goddess is adumbrated in her primeval form. We have seen antecedents of Artemis in Crete and in the Near East, where she is pictured as Lady of the Mountains. In Mesopotamia, the celestial mountain was represented by the ziggurat, where on a moonlit night a priestess would ascend the long flight of stairs to the pinnacle, and invite the god to partake of her (Herodotus, I. 181), and through their conjugation, the earth would swell with abundance. In Mesopotamia, the mountain, in Henri Frankfort's words: "is the place where the mysterious potency of the earth, and hence of al natural life, is concentrated.[25] "It is the closest point to the heaven, to the weather god with his vivifying rain. It possesses, as Jung says of the mountain and the mouutain cave, [26] the same chthonian value of woman as the fertile darkness of creation, but here transposed to another plane. The prototype of Artemis as Mountain Mother is most evident in Cretan seals and signets, where she appears on a summit, flanked by two adoring lions. Her association with the mountain provides an effortless transition for the Lady of the Animals to her new role as a daughter of Olympus.

Throughout the Indian tradition, Gaṅgā is acknowledged as a child of the mountains. The *Mahābhārata* describes her as "issuing from the golden peaks of Himavat "(Ādi-parvan, 172), while in Vālmīki's

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25. Henri Frankfort, *The Birth of Civilization in the Near East* (Garden City, New York, 1951), p. 56.

26. C. G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious* (Princeton, 1959), p. 81, *passim*.

"Gaṅgastotram," she pierces the caverns of the Lord of the Mountains (in Avalon, 218), an image repeated in Śankara's" Gaṅgaṣṭakam," where we read of Gaṅga descending from heaven, mingling in the matted hair of Śiva, and flowing from a cave in the Golden Mountain (in Avalon, p.41). "On the summit of Meru," explains the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa,*" is the vast city of Brahma . . . enclosed by the River Ganges, which . . . falls here from the skies, and, after encircling the city, divides into four mighty rivers, flowing in opposite directions" (IV. 2). Her home is in the Milky way, where through the dark she sheds her silver light (*Matsya Purāṇa*. 121. 29-30). By far, the most stunning picture of Gaṅgāvataraṇa appears in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, in which the celestial and telluric reamls are bound together for all time (II.8).

We may be troubled by the presence of disparate traits among the Indo-Aegean goddosses. Aside from the process of cultural accretion explored above, there took place what Gilbert Murray calls a *Sunoikismos*, or "Settling Together,"[27] in which a wide variety of pre-Olympian female figures are later reudced to four or five individual types. Due to the tenacity of local cults, however, certain of these goddesses remained, but in forms partly accomodated to the new religion. To judge by numerous appearances in later texts, there existed in pre-Aryan India as well, a great variety of female spirits: *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *vidyādharas*, goddesses of fertility and terror, some of whom continued in a light, nearly disembodied state, while others pass through the

27. Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (Garden City, New York, 1955), p. 61.

screen of Vedic personification, to assume individual names and qualities. [28]

Undoubtedly, numerous exchanges occurred between the Indo-Aegean culture areas, joined as they were by the persian Empire. For our purposes, Diodorus Siculus offers a glimpse of the Artemis cult and its following in the East: "This goddess," he notes in his monumental *Library of History,* "is held in special honour among the persians, and the barbarians hold mysteries which are performed among other peoples even down to this day, in honour of the persian Artemis" (V. 77.7). The goddess in Diodorus' description was known in persia as Ardvi Sūra Anāhita, who, through the intermediary of Vedic Sarasvatī, provides an unmistake-able prototype for Gaṅgā herself.[28]

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28 Steven Darian, "*Gaṅgā and Sarasvatī* : an Incidence of Mythological Projection" (article recently submitted. Name of journal to be announced).

SVARAMAJARĪ OF NṚSIṀHA

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Poona

Preliminary Remarks :

P(āṇini)'s rules of accentuation, though of immense importance[1] for a correct understanding of the Veda, particularly the Saṁhitas, have not received the attention of scholars they deserve. The general disappearance of accent from the language of common parlance and restriction of the Veda mainly to the sphere of sacrifice and religious ceremonies seems to have been responsible for the beginning of this tendency to neglect accent study as early as Kāt (yāyana) and Pat (añjali). For, the former has written no *Vā(rttika)* on a vast majority of P's accentuation rules, and Pat also appears to have followed him in doing so. The grouping together[2] of

1. The present writer has written a few articles on this subject : (1) *'Pāṇini as an Aid to Ṛgvedic Interpretation'*, Prof. H. D. Velankar Commemoration Volume, pp. 20-26 ; (2) *'Sāyaṇa utilising Pāṇini in his Bhāṣya on Ṛgveda'* JBBRAS, Bhan Daji Lad Number, pp. 165-173 ; (3) *'Pāṇini and Ṛgvedic Exegesis'*, Indian Antiquary (third series) Vol. II No. 3, July 1967, pp. 1-8 ; (4) *'Pāṇini and Ṛgvedic Interpretation'*—A Note on *'ajuryamuḥ'* in RV. 5-6.10 (to appear in Jubilee Volume, Journal of the Or. Institute, Madras) ; (5) *'Vedic Hiatus Nasalisation and Pāṇini'* (to appear in Dr. V. G. Paranjpe Volume).

2. As, for example, in Bh's *SK* and similar other works.

these rules in a separate section under the title *Svara-prakriyā* seems to have led to the culmination of this neglect. For, it is observed that this section was generally left out by those who studied *vyākaraṇa*, as is evident from the paucity of commentaries on it, as compared with the other sections into which P's work has been recast. It is no wonder then that the number of *prakriyā* works on the topic of accentuation is quite negligible—may almost nil; and they belong mostly to what may be designated 'period of systematisation and recasts in the history of P's school, and perhaps even Sanskrit grammar as a whole.

Under these circumstances, it is quite necessary that due attention is paid to all available works dealing with accentuation, procure as many Mss of these works as possible, bring out critical and annotated editions, and thus place before Vedic scholars (and scholars of *vyākaraṇa* also) enough material to rouse their interest in and offer at least some aid for the study of accentuation, and thus open before them an important but up to now almost neglected aid to Vedic exegesis.

A humble attempt is sought to be done in this direction by trying to bring out a critical edition of one such work, hitherto not quite well-known, not very often quoted, even by well-known authors dealing with accentuation, lying almost forgotten in the form of Mss, which also cannot be said to be too many. The present paper is intended to acquaint scholars with this work and its author in a bare outline.

Name of the Work :

The author himself has given the name of the work in two different ways. In the introductory stanza[3] he names it as *Svara manojña-mañjarī*, whereas in the colophon at the end of the work he omits the word *manojña* and gives the name as *S*(*vara*)-*M*(*añjarī*) only. The author of the *S*(*vara*)-*S*(*iddhānta-C*(*andrikā*)[5] has referred to and even quoted from this work in many places under the name *SM* or even *Mañjarī*. He has referred to the author not by his name but as *SM-kāra*. It may further be noted that the author of the *Par*(*imala*),[6] a commentary on this work, expressly states that the name of this work is SM only ;[7] and that the word *manojña* in the other title or rather in the introductory verse is made an attribute of the part (*samudāyin*). Though, in fact, it is an attribute of the whole (*samudāya*). And this is done, he says, for exegencies of metre.[8] This commentator is, as we shall see later, a pupil of the author ; and this circumstance surely adds weight to his statement on this point. It would thus be more appropriate

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3. पाणिनीयसमयानुसारिणी वक्ष्यते स्वरमनोज्ञमञ्जरी ।

4. इति रुद्रार्यसूनुना नरसिंहसूरिणा विरचिता स्वरमञ्जरी समाप्ता ।

5. This is a very important work on accentuation (of SNY) edited by Pt. Sivaramakrshna Sastri (Annamalai University, now Deccan College, published as Annamalai University Series No. 4, in 1936.

6. Only a few pages of this commentary together with the original have been published in Calcutta Oriental Journal, 1935, by Kshitis Chandra Chaterji.

7. स्वरमञ्जरीति ग्रन्थनामधेयम्, Edition referred to p. 2.

8. मनोज्ञस्वरमञ्जरी वक्ष्यत इत्यर्थः । वृत्तानुसारान्मनोज्ञशब्दस्य समुदायविशेषणस्यापि समुदायविशेषणत्वेन प्रयोगः । ibid. p. 2,

to give the name of this work as *SM* only without word *manojña* set in it.

Contents :

The work, as is customary with all SK writers, begins with a *maṅgala* and states that the author is composing this work following P. The next stanza gives his name, with that of his father; and indicates his qualifications for composing such a work; and finally expresses the hope that this work (*prabandha*) may delight and give satisfaction to the learned.[9]

The exposition of the main topic, namely accentuation, which commences after the introductory verses, is divided into two main sections, general (*sāmānyataḥ svarāḥ*) and specific or particular (*viśeṣataḥ svarāḥ*) . Before commencing the former, however, the author has indulged into a brief discussion as to whether a study of this topic, that is accentuation, is obligatory or optional; and after a brief statement of the *prima facie* view on this point, he states with reasons his conclusion that accentuation must be properly studied.[10] Not only that, it is further necessary to know the circumstances[11] also that lead to the particular accentuation.

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9. The introductory verses are :
प्राणिनिप्रकृतशास्त्रकोविदान् पावनानथ गुरून् प्रणम्य तान् ।
पाणिनीयसमयानुसारिणी वक्ष्यते स्वरमनोज्ञमञ्जरी ॥
स्वभ्यस्तवेदः कुरुते प्रबन्धं स्वरार्थभाववनिर्निशब्दविद्यः ।
रुद्रार्यसूनुर्नरसिंहसूरिरसावदोजो विदुषां मुदेऽस्तु ॥

10. अतोवर्णक्रमवत् स्वरा अपि वेदितव्याः । ibid. p. 7.

11. तद्व्युत्पत्तौ कारणान्यपि ज्ञातव्यानि । ibid. p. 11.

This discussion serves as a fitting introduction[12] to the first section of this work, which deals with accents in general. Here the author deals with the general circumstances which determine accentuation. Here at the outset he has given two couplets in which these ten circumstances have been enumerated. The couplets are : लोपागमविकाराणां प्रकृतेः प्रत्ययस्य च । प्लुतसन्धिपदानां च समासानां च भेदतः । क्वचिदर्थवशादाहुर्दशधा तानि शाब्दिकाः ॥

Now follows a succinct but brief exposition and illustration of each one of these circumstances. Thus taking the word *devī*, the author points out how this word is formed from *devá*+*ī*, with the elision of the final *á* (of the former). But if this *á* goes, the formation would be *devī* (with no *udātta* at all). This, however, is not so because of P's rule,[13] according to which an unaccented suffix, which causes elision of a preceding *udāta*, itself receives the *udātta*. Thus ultimately we get the correct formation *devī*. Thus is explained and illustrated the first circumstance or the *lopanimittasvara*. It may be mentioned here that the author has actually explained the point to its very rudinents, thus showing that this work is meant not for the learned or advanced students, but for the beginners (*bāla*) who desire to have an easy access to the topic of accentuation.

Similarly *āgamanimittasvara* he has explained, discussed, and illustrated with reference to three of P's

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12. In the *Parimala* (edn. noted above) we actually find the words ; इत्युपोद्घातप्रकरणम् at the end of the Comm. on this section (ibid, p. 11).

13. अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः, 6-1-161.

rules, namely, *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣvaḍ udāttḥ,*[14] *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdātto ṅicca,*[15] and *caturanaḍuhor ām udāttaḥ*[16]. In the same way he has expounded and illustrated the remaining circumstances also, quoting, explaining, and illustrating the relevant sūtras of P. It has, however, to be noted that by the *padanimitta svara* he understands the enclitic vocative, and other enclitic forms that P has laid down in the eighth chapter of his work ; and not the accent arrived at by *anudāttaṁ padam ekavarjam.*[17] This section thus includes the vocative, the optional monosyllabic forms of the pronouns *asmad* and *yuṣmad*, the finite verb, not coming after a finite verb, nor standing at the beginning of a *pāda* or a sentence, and finally, the so-called *āmreḍita* (the latter portion of a *dvirukta pada*). Under *samāsanimitta svara* he has discussed and illustrated only about four or five sūtras such as *samāsasya,*[18] *bahuvrihau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam,*[19] *ubha vanaspatyādiṣu yugapat,*[20] *devatādvandve ca,*[21] and *nottarapada' nuttaradāvapṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthiṣu.*[22] The last *nimitta,* namely *arthabheda* is illustrated by rules like *aryaḥ svāmivaiśyayōḥ, svaminyantodāttatvaṁ ca ;*[23] and words like *aṇu,* and *veda* which are oxytone or barytone according to

14. *Aṣṭa* 6.4.31.
15. *Aṣṭa*. 3.4.103.
16. *Aṣṭa*. 7.1.98.
17. श्राष्टमिकः सर्वनिघातोऽत्र पदस्वरो ग्राह्यः न त्वनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जमिति ।
18. *Aṣṭa* 6.1.23.
19. *Aṣṭa* 6.2.1.
20. *Aṣṭa* 6.2.140.
21. *Aṣṭa* 6.2.141.
22. *Aṣṭa* 6.2.142.
23. *Aṣṭa* 3.1.103. and *vā* on it.

the meaning they are meant to convey. This section is concluded with the remark, *iti sāmānyataḥ proktāḥ svarāḥ*.

After this starts the second section which is more ambitious and is further sub-divided under several heads such as *prakṛtipratyayāśritaḥ svarāḥ*, *samāsānāṁ svarāḥ*, *prātipadikasvara*, *tiṅantasvara*, *subrahmaṇyānigadasvara*, and *sannatarasvara*. In all these cases, it may be observed, the general mode adopted by our author is the same as in the previous section. Under each of these sub-sections he has quoted all the relevant sūtras of P, expounded and illustrated them from the *Tai(thirīya)Saṁ(hitā)*, and occasionally indulged in discussions meant to bring out better clarification of the point under discussion. Under each of these sections—more particularly the first two—the author has taken a large number of P's rules, and explained and illustrated them from the *Tai Saṁ*.

At this stage our Mss show our author as illustrating the *svarasañcāraprakāra*,[24] and thus explaining the

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24. As belonging to the *Tai śākhā*, it is but natural that our author should explain the *svarasaṁcāra* of a few mantras from the *Tai Saṁ*. And this is exactly what we find in the Adyar MS and also the Baroda MS. This is also quite in keeping with what he has done throughout the work and also his statement at the end to the effect that he has given illustrations from the *Tai śākhā* only. cf. शाखायां तैत्तिरीयायां बहूनालोच्य धीमता, स्वरोदाहृतयो दृष्टा नृसिंहेन विपश्चिता ॥ But the I. O. MS., curiously enough, gives the *svarasaṁcāra* of the first *varga* of the RV commencing with the words, तत्र ऋग्वेदस्य प्रथमो वर्ग इति । And a little later we also find the same done with reference to इषे त्वेत्यादि (the *Tai Saṁ*), as in the other two MSS. The treatment of the RV verses in the I.O. MS. is probably an interpolation.

accentuation and formation of each and every *pada* from the first few *mantras* of the *Tai Saṁ.*

Then our author possess on to the third sub-section with the words, *atha prātipadikam adhikṛtya kiñcid ucyate.* Here it may be pointed out that as a general rule all available works on grammar include the *Ph*(*it*) *Sū*(*tra*) in their section dealing with the topic of accentuation, while the *Uṇ*(*ādi*) *Sū*(*tra*) they include in the section dealing with primary derivations (*kṛdanta*). Our author however, has thought it fit to leave out the Ph. Sū, altogether and include the *Uṇ Sū* in this work. He is perhaps the only author to do so; and has been even criticised for doing this by *śrīnivāsayajvan* (SNY) in the introductory verses of his 55 C.[25] But instead of hastening to find fault with our author on this account, we should rather try to find out why possibly he should have done so.

We have already seen above that our author has expressly declared that he is composing a work following P.[26] His *Mañjarī* is *Pāṇinīya SM.* This may perhaps throw some light on the exclusion of the *Ph.Sū.* in his work and the inclusion of the *Uṇ Sū.* For, it is well-known that the former is not a work of P, nor does

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25. Read : अपेक्षितस्यावचनमनपेक्षितकीर्तनम् . . . बहूनां पाणिनीयानां सूत्राणामविवेचनम् । फिट्सूत्रस्यावर्णनं चापेक्षितानवबोधनम् ।। SSC p. 4, vv. 31 and 34 f. The inclusion of the *Uṇ Sū* is not expressly mentioned in the *SSC*, but is implied in अनपेक्षितकीर्तनम्, along with other matters which have been clearly mentioned under this head.

26. See Note 3 above.

it primarily belong to P's school.[27] On the other hand, the *UṇSū.*, whatever view we accept about its authorship, ls clearly a work of the school of P as can be easily judged from the various technicalities which it has adopted from P's school without caring to make any attempt to explain them in the least.[28] Its dependence on P's work, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, to a large extent is also an indication in the same direction.[29] It would thus appear that our author in his zeal to remain true to his *pratijñā*, namely of composing *pāṇinīyasamayānusāriṇī SM*, thought it justifiable—may even necessary to take up the (*Pāṇinīya*) *Uṇ.Sū.* and leave out the *Ph.Sū.* which is not Pāṇinian.

It may further be observed that both these works, namely the *Ph.Sū.* and the *Uṇ.Sū.* are concerned with

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27. Its author śāntanarācārya has exhibited several divergences from P which leaves no doubt that he does not belong to P's school. Nāgeśa in his *śekhara* (on *Ph.Sū.*) in no ambiguous terms declares the work to be *apāṇinīya*. Also see *Devasthali, Phitsūtra*, Introduction.

28. Our author seems to consider them *Pāṇinīya*. cf. इति पाणिनीये उणादिसूत्रे पञ्चमः पादः । उणादयः समाप्ताः । (colophon in the Adyar MS). This, however, is not found in the other two MSS. It may, however, be remembered that there are commentators and scholars who hold *Uṇ. Sū.* to be a work of P. (like the *Dhātupāṭha* and the *Gaṇapāṭha*). At any rate there is no doubt that the work belongs to the school of P, whose technicalities it has adopted in full without offering any explanation regarding them.

29. The relation between P's *Aṣṭā* and the *Uṇ.Sū.* (*pañcapādī*) is rather an intricate problem. This will be discussed in full details in my proposed critical edition of the work with translation, exegatical notes, and an exhaustive introduction dealing, with several problems concerning this work. This is under preparation and is expected to be ready for the press within a year or two.

prātipadikas.[30] The former deals merely with accentuation of the *prātipadikas*, while the latter concerns itself with derivation as well as accentuation.[31] It is generallly accepted that the *Uṇ.Sū.* deals with *saṁjña*[32] *rūḍha* words, that is to say the words which P considered to be only *avyutpanna prātipadikas*. In other words what P has done in the case of *vyutpanna prātipadikas*, the *Un.Sū.* has done in the case of the *avyutpanna prātipadikas*. Thus one may say that the latter work forms a sort of supplement to or a continuation of the former. If this is correct, then there is nothing wrong if the *Uṇ.Sū.* is included in a work on accentuation. On the contrary, it would appear rather strange to exclude a work directly belonging to P's school and take up a work from outside the school to make up the deficiency in P's treatment of accentuation. Moreover, it would appear that P has given his sanction to the *Uṇ.Sū* by directly referring to *uṇādayaḥ* in two of his sūtras.[33] It is, therefore, not quite easy to see why later writers have found fault with our author on this account. One really wonders

30. *Phiṣ* (*Phit*) is an ancient term for *prātipadika*. This name itself indicates the non-Pāṇi..ion character of the *Ph.Sū*.

31. This is evident from the various *anubandhas* used therein to indicate accentuation. Moreover the accent is expressly laid dhwn in sūtras like जेमूट् चोदात्तः (371), and समान ख्यः स चोदात्तः (576).

32. This is shown by the famous couplets संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः पूरे, कार्याद्विद्यादनूबन्धानेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ Kaśikā 3.3.1.

33. उणादयो बहुलम्. and ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः, *Aṣṭā* 3.3.1; 4.75; respectively. In these *Uṇādi* suffixes are expressly mentioned ; while in 3.3.2 ; etc. they are mentioned only indirectly. *Ph.Sū*. appears to have received no such sanction from P, not even indirectly.

when it is said that in a work like this (=*SM*) the *Ph. Sū.* is *apekṣita* while the *Uṇ.Sū.* is not. Whatever be the view ultimately adopted in this respect, one thing is quite clear, namely that our author has, true to his own declaration and aim, supplied Vedic illustrations for the *Uṇ Sū.* also.[34]

Hereafter follows the section dealing with accentuation of finite verbs. Here also, as in the other sections, he has quoted all the relevant rules of P and explained and illustrated them from the *Tait-Saṁ.* This section appears to fall into two parts : one dealing with cases based on the rule *tiṅṅatiṅaḥ* (i. e. where the verb

34. This is not done by any other commentator so faithfully (except, I must say, SNY in his *SSC.*) as by our author. It has, however, to be admitted that for some sūtras no Vedic illustration is available, and such sutras our author seems to have left out of consideration as being irrelevant to his purpose. But this need not come in our way. Like P's work, the *Uṇ.Sū.* also deals with the language of common parlance (*bhāṣā*) as well as the Veda. It is, therefore, natural that only some of these sutras can be properly illustrated with Vedic quotations. It is sometimes pointed out that the accent arrived at by the *Un Sū.* occasionally is belied by the Veda. Hence they may not be taken as being meant for the Veda. But this does not seem to be sound. For, the same can be said about the *Ph.Sū.* also. In my edition of the *Ph.Sū.* (in the Notes). I have shown that in the case of several sūtras we have examples agreeing with and at the same time others going against one and the same sūtra, a position which perhaps may be said to be worse than that of the Uṇ Sū. Again the Uṇ.Sū. text, as we have it before us, is a much tampered text, so much so that what discrepancies of accent we may find therein can be said to be due to the changes introduced in the original work. Hence instead of finding fault with the Uṇ.Sū. as a whole, we should rather consider if it may be possible to restore the work to its pristine purity at least with nearest possible approximation.

is accented because it stands at the beginning of *pāda* or a sentence) while the other deals with others which state the words (*nipātas*, etc.) which prevent the verb from being enclitic.

As a piece indicating the utility of the present work for young students of accentuation, we may quote here a few lines in which our author has summed up his discussion and illustration of P's rules concerning verbal accentuation. At the end of the first part of this section he writes :[35] सार्वधातुकेषु स्वरव्यवस्था वक्ष्यते । शप्श्यनोर्विकरणयोर्धातुस्वर एव, विकरणतिङ्प्रत्यययोस्तु अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ, अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्, तस्यानुदात्तेन्ङिददुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमिति चानुदात्तत्वान् । लुग्विकरणेषु पित्सु धातुस्वरः । अपित्सु प्रत्ययस्वरः । अनुदात्तेत्सु ङित्सु च धातुस्वरः । श्लुविकरणेषु पित्सु अजादिषु च अभ्यस्तानामादिरित्यादिरुदात्तः । अपित्सु हलादिषु प्रत्ययस्वरः ! भीह्रीत्यादिषु प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं उदात्तः । अपित्सु ह्रस्वादिषु प्रत्ययस्वरः । अजादिष्वभ्यस्तानामाद्युदात्तत्वमेव । लिङि यासुडेवोदात्तः. लिङ अडागमश्च । शविकरणे हि सर्वत्र विकरणस्वरेण । स्वादिरुधादितनादिक्र्यादिषु पित्सु विकरणस्वरः । ष्यन्तेषु सर्वत्र णितस्वर (णिच्स्वर ?) एव । लुङ्लङ्लृङक्षु सर्वत्र अडागमस्वर एव । लृलुटोः स्यतासी उदात्तौ । लिट आत्मनेपदेषु प्रत्ययस्वरः । परस्मैपदेषु णलि थलि च प्रत्ययात्पूर्वमुदात्ताम्, अन्यत्र प्रत्ययस्वर एव । इति यथायथमुदाहरणानि द्रष्टव्यानि तथैवोदाहृतानि च ॥

Hereafter follow two minor sections dealing with the accentuation of what are known as *Subramaṇyā*

35. It may be observed that such a summing up of a particular topic or section has not been attempted by any other writer on accentuation, in spite of the fact that they had such an att.mpt before them in this work. Neither Bh. nor SNY has done this. They have indulged only in abstract discussions and criticisms, but have not cared to give such sh rt and succint statements which would make the subject quite easy to grasp and also to retain. This, in fact, may be said to form a forte of our auihor to some extent It is to be regretted that our author has not done it more often than what he has actually done.

(*nigada*) and *sanntara* respectively, and finally the work concludes with what the author has described as *prakirṇaka.* Under this last topic he has discussed cases where the verbally identical words or formations are observed to bear divergent accentuation at different places. This naturally has to be explained away; for, difference in accentuation of one and the same formation or word at different place must necessarily be an indication of some sort of difference either of circumstance or of sense. Words differing in accentuation cannot be wholly identical and the same, verbally as well as in point of sense.[36]

Having thus completed his discussion and illustration of accentuation on the basis of P's rule, our author concluded his treatment of his subject with two complete declaring that his treatment and illustration is not exhaustive and is restricted to his own *śākhā* (the *Tait.*) only. He finally expresses the hope that expert grammarians will supply the deficiencies therein.[37]

He then concludes his work by quoting the Vedic verse *saktum iva titannā* . . . (ṚVX.71.2) and *devīṁ vācam ajanayanta* . . . (ṚV viii-100-11 ; Tai.Br.II-iv-6-10), and

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36. This section is quite interesting and should serve as an incentive for an investigation and search for other similar cases. Here our author has indeed unwittingly pointed out a line for further investigation which may be followed up with interest and profit even by modern scholars.

37. As a matter of fact every *śākhā* of the Veda has to be subjected to a searching scrutiny from the point of view of accent. For them and them only it may be possible for us to have an all-pervading view of the phenomenon of accentuation in the Veda as a whole.

explaining the same ; and then follows the colophon : इति सर्वं सिद्धम् । इति रुद्रार्यसूनुना नरसिंहसूरिणा विचरिता स्वरमञ्जरी समाप्ता ।

A brief Appreciation :

After this general survey of the contents of the *SM*, we may give a brief appreciation thereof by noticing some of its salient features. The first and the most important among these is the fact that it is the oldest available work of its type. There are very few works in SK. grammar which deal with the topic of accentuation. What works are available,[38] all belong to the period of systematisation and recasts in SK. *vyākaraṇa* ; and many of them are only of the nature of a commentary on the rules of P rather than independent works. The work under notice, on the other hand, can be described as an independent work on Vedic accentuation wherein the different aspects of accentuation are considered, discussed, and illustrated with the help of P's rules. The main pu pose of the work is not to comment on P's rules, but to expound Vedic accent as found in the Veda. This aspect would seem all the more striking when we remember that this is perhaps the earliest work of its kind. It

38. Pr f MM. K. V. Abhyankar in the introduction to his edition of the *Svaraprakriyā* (from the *Siddhāntakaumudī*) of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (in Marathi; has noticed (i) The *Svaramañjarī* of Nṛsiṁha (15th Century), (2) the *Svaraprakriyā* of Viṭṭhaleśa (15th Century A. D.), (3) the *Svaraprakriyā* of Nāgeśa (of the śeṣa family, a contemporary of Viṭṭhala , (4) the *Svarasiddhāntacandrikā* of Śrīnivāsayajvan (latter half of the 17th century), (5) the *Svaraprakriyā* of Bhagavadbhakta (Ms. dated śaka 1 72), besides (6) the *svaraprakriyā* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita mentioned above).

belongs to the first quarter of the 16th century and thus can easily be described as a pioneer work of its class.

Its second unique feature is its peculiar arrangement of the topics dealt with. With a view to make his work not all too difficult and repulsive, the author has started his work with a general treatment of his subject, leaving the more technical and minute aspects to be introduced at a later stage. This, it may be readily admitted, is psychologically quite sound. The author has tried to lead his reader into the abstruse and taxing subject with ease, rousing his interest by placing before him the ten general circumstances affecting accentuation and illustrating them from the *Tai. Saṁ.* (i. e. the Veda). With the ground thus prepared, he takes the reader into the intricacies of accentuation topic by topic, on the basis of P's rules, discussing the pros and cons and thus expounding the exact scope of these rules and removing mutual conflict which an unwary student might see in the course of his study. The work may thus be said to have been well designed and executed so as to serve as an easy introduction to the topic of Vedic accentuation in two stages.[39]

That our author is a faithful follower of P and that he has based his work strictly on P's teaching has been already pointed out. It has also been shown that the inclusion of the *Uṇ. Sū.* in this work to the exclusion

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39. It is a matter for regret that no successor of our author could realise this merit of his work and adopt it in a better and more impressive manner. Some, indeed, have gone just the other way and only declared that the arrangement of topics in the *SM* is not quite as it should be of 'अनाञ्जस्यं विभागस्य' of SNY.

of the *Ph. Sū.* is just the result of this strict adherence to P and may be considered as one more special feature of this work.

Our author belongs to the *Tai. Śākhā* of the Black yajurveda, and has, as such, given his illustrations from that *śākhā* only. But it is worth noting that unlike all other writers on this subject, he has chosen to illustrate his rules with citations from the Veda only, a point which has not been strictly observed, and sometimes even neglected by other authors upto his time and perhaps even after him.[40]

But by far the most important feature of the work is to be found in the enlightening discussions and summing up which our author has given us on several occasions. The most prominent one among these concerning the accentuation of finite verbs has been already quoted above in full. Such discussions and summaries occasionally presented not only help to rouse interest, but, even help to make our knowledge of the subject quite definite and clear.[41]

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40. It is worthwhile for those well-versed in particular *śākhās* of the Veda to make a searching study of the phenomenon of accentuation as found in their *śākhā* and see how far they follow or deviate from the rules laid down by P. Accent study of all available accented *śākhās* simultaneously may be highly useful and interesting at the same time.

41. Our author deserves all credit for having adopted this mode which may be easily compared to the comparative method that is advocated as the most suited for the study of ancient works like the Veda.

Criticism by the SSC :

Śrīnivāsayajvan,[42] more than a century later, however, has referred to and occasionally even quoted from this work, more to criticise than to appreciate. He has enumerated the *doṣas* in this work in his introductory verses. He declares that even the *SK* has five or six inexplicable defects, but they may be considered as *adoṣas*. For, defects are in a human work but inevitable.[43] This considerate view, however, has not been extended to our author ; and the defects in his *SM* have been enumerated in several verses. Exclusion of what is expected and inclusion of what is not are exemplified by the exclusion of the *Ph. Sū.* and the inclusion of the *Uṇ. Sū.* in this work. Some of the other defects are : interfering with the order of the sūtras of P, improper arrangement and division of the topics, mutually contradictory statements ; and so on.[44] In this connection nothing definite can be said at this stage. For, the correctness or otherwise of these accusations can be judged only after a careful and detailed study of this work along with the adverse remarks passed by the author of the *SSC* against it. One thing, however, is certain that some of these defects may be subject to difference of opinion, as, for example, the inclusion of the *Uṇ. Sū.* and the exclusion of the *Ph. Sū.* And secondly even if some defects may be genuinely so, they may be said to

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42. The author of the *SSC.*

43. नापि सिद्धान्तकौमुद्यां कात्स्न्येनैषा निरूपिता । सन्त्येव दुष्परिहरा दोषस्तत्रापि पञ्चषाः अदोषानेव तान् मन्ये मच्छ्रयः स्खलनं यथा ॥ p. 4, vv. 29 f.

44. See p. 4, vv. 31-42

be but inevitable in any human work on the maxim, *gacchataḥ skhalanaṁ kvacit*. Finally, even if this consideration is not shown to our author, one need not be so led away by them as to remain blind to the good and salient features of his work, more particularly because, as has been already pointed out above, this is a pioneer work on the subject, and like all pioneer work is bound to be defective in the eyes of those who come to see it after the lapse of a century or two.

The Author :

As is generally the case with SK authors, what little we know about our author is almost nothing. There is no external source supplying as any information in this respect. For SNY who has many times quoted and criticised him in his *SSC* has not even given his name. He refers to him only as *SM-kāra*. SNY is a very late writer, later even than Bh(aṭṭoji) whose SK he refers to and finds fault with. He was a disciple of Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, the author of the *Jānakīharaṇa*, who had received a gift of the village, Thirnviśālur from Shahaji of Tanjore. He was perhaps an elderly contemporary of Nāgeśa. It is also significant that our author does not refer to any of the works on accentuation, which perhaps indicates that his was the earliest of its kind. The lower limit for our author's date may be fairly determined as about the end of the 15th century in view of the fact that one of the MSS of the present work bears the date Saṁvat 1577 (c. 1519. Our author must, therefore, have composed his work some time in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

From the introductory verse we learn that the name of our author is Narasiṁhasūri, and his father's

name is Rudrārya. Elsewhere he names himself merely *Nṛsiṁha*[45] and his father's name is given as Rudrācārya[47] or Rudrayārya.[46] He had studied critically the Veda and had studied repeatedly the science of grammar for (attaining mastery over) accentuation.[48] In the conclud-ing stanza (as found in the I. O. MS) the author claims to be a connoisseur of the vast ocean of the *śabdaśāstra*) (grammar) and also well-versed in several other *śāstras*.[49] But we have no other source of information which can throw more light on our author, his date, etc.

Commentaries :

As has been already pointed out, SNY has in his *SSC* very often referred not only to the *SM* and its author, but also to two commentaries on this work. From this source we know that the names of the com-mentaries are *Parimala* and *Vivaraṇa*. The former is written by Girinātha, son of Mallināthakavi, brother of Kumārasvāmin, and a disciple of Nṛsiṁha, the author of the present work. K. S. Chaterji had started editing this work with *Parimala* in his Calcutta Oriental Journal in 1935 ; but has not gone beyond sixteen printed pages of the Journal. But from the portion printed there it is

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45. See the verse quoted in No. 24 above.

46. Read : रुद्रयार्यतनूजेन . . . जन्मना । नृसिंहाख्येन विमलशब्दाब्धेः . . . वेदनिष्णातेन मनीषिणा । सवैदिकोदाहरणा प्रणीता स्वरमञ्जरी ॥ Concluding verses in the I.O.Ms.

47. इतिश्रीरुद्राचार्यसूनू नृसिंहविरचिता स्वरमञ्जरी समाप्ता । I. O. Ms. Colophon.

48. स्वभ्यस्तवेदः कुरुते प्रबन्धं स्वरार्थंभाववर्तितशब्दविद्यः । See No. 9 above.

49. See No. 46 above,

quite clear that the name of the commentator is Girināthasūri and that his father is one Mallināthakavi.[50]

The second commentary quoted and referred to by SNY is the *Vivaraṇa*.[51] But no further information has yet been discovered about this commentary and its author so far. It is likely that this *vivaraṇakāra* is not much younger than Girinātha, the author of the *Parimala*, so much so that both these commentators may be assigned to the first or the second quarter of the 16th century at the latest.

MSS. of the Work :

It was Prof. M. M. K. V. Abhyankar, one of our great living *Vaiyākaraṇas*, who drew my attention to this work which he had already copied from the I. O. MS. He had also got through B. O. R. I., Poona, a transcript of a MS from the Adyar Library and secured a third MS. from the Oriental Institute, Baroda, which, however, is in *grantha* script. Prof. Abhyankar made available to me all these, through BORI, and suggested that I should prepare and bring out a critical edition of this important work, which has not yet seen the light of the day. In course of time I could secure, through my friend and pupil, Shri S.N. Bhavsar, the help of a scholar from the Deccan College, Shri K. Venugopalam who

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50. For information about the *Parimala* and its author See New Catalogus Catalogorum (this was kindly supplied to me by Dr. K. K. Raja to whom I am highly obliged for this and all other help he has been kind enough to extend to me).

51. This *Vivaraṇa* also has been criticised by SNY in his SSC. along with the SM. Read : ये दोषा स्वरमञ्जर्यां ते तद्विवरणेऽपि च । SSC. p, 5, v. 41.

not only read the MS. for me but even made for me a transcript of it in Devanāgari for my use. So now I am in possession of three MSS of the text of this interesting work. But since the I. O. MS. is broken in some places and is also very badly written, I thought of making further enquries to see if any other MSS of this work are available. I contracted Dr. K. K. Raja (Madras University), Prof. Dr. Venkātasubramania Iyer (Kerala University) and Thiru R. N. Sampat (Govt. Or MSS. Library, Madras) who have been kind enough to supply me information about MSS. not only of this work but also of the commentary on it available in Adyar, Madras, and Trivandram. Instead of, therefore, depending on only two MSS and a broken third, which I have with me at present, I am trying to procure some more MSS (of the text and also of the Commentaries) for the preparation of my proposed critical edition. I take this opportunity to thank all these scholars and friends for the help they have readily rendered. I must also place on record my indebtedness to Pandit K. A. Sivaramakrishna Sastri (now of the Deccan College, Poona) for the valuable aid I am deriving from his excellent edition of the *SSC* and also for the loving interest he is bestowing on my work.

An appeal :

Before I close, I humbly and ferrently appeal to scholars and friends to convey to me any material or information that may be useful in my attempt to bring out a critical edition of this valuable work on accentuation, which, it is hoped, will give a good impetus to the study of Vedic accentuation, as an aid to Vedic exegesis.

THE HINDU FESTIVAL OF PHAGWA (HOLI) IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO (WEST INDIES)

J. C. JHA
St. Augustine Trinidad, (W.I.)

Festivals are said to be 'outword symbols of inward graces'.[1] Indeed, they are the symbols of Indian culture, inspiring and rejuvenating it all the year round. They arouse deep religious or spiritual feelings among people ; they are intimately connected with the Indian way of life. They also provide the much needed relaxation and entertainment to the people—the 'joy and zest and variety to life's monotonous routine'.[2] Since Hindu worship is not much congregational, it expresses itself in popular festivals.[3]

Every Indian festival is a manifestation of the natural urge of the people for happiness and joy. While in some the social aspect is more prominent, in others the religious rituals are given more importance.[4] It is the purpose of this paper to focus attention on the sali-

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1. See Bhagawan Das, *Essential Unity of All Religions*, Bombay, 1960 p. 627, Footnote.

2. H. Bhattacharya (ed.) *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Calcutta, 2nd edn., 1956 p. 480.

3. Percival Spear, *India, A Modern History*, Ann Arbor, 1961, p. 50 : 'The Spring is marked by Holi, playful among the Upper classes and apt to be bacchanalia in the villages'.

4. Morton Klass, *East Indians in Trinidad*, a study of Cultural Persistence, New York, 1961, p. 158.

ent features of one of the most important Hindu festivals of Trinidad.

The basic idea behind the observances of Hindu festivals is the commemoration of an important event like the birth, enlightenment, salvation or death of a great (*Mahāpuruṣa*) or a deity. Almost every month of the Hindu calendar has one or more sacred moments to remember when the ideals of great men or their achievements inspire the people.

The beginning of many Indian festivals can be traced to the prehistoric times, with changes made from age to age. There are others of a comparatively recent times. But there is one thing common in all : they symbolise the spirit of fellowship, faith and happiness. Thus fast, vigils, worship, singing of devotional songs, meditation and prayers become thc essential part of the festivals.

Among the Hindus a few specialised celebrations are prescribed only for the *dwijas*[5] twiceborn, i. e. the Brahmanas, and Kshatriyas and some Vaishyas). However, the festivals as such are community celebrations in which everybody takes part. The advent of the seasons, as the beginning of a year, is celebrated by all since the Vedic age (1500 to 700 B. C.). Similarly, the transition from one month to the other called the *Sankrānti*, especially the day on which the Sun passes to the sign of Aries (*Mesha*) and the day on which he enters

5. Sinclair Stenvenson, *The Rites of Twice Born*, Delhi, 2nd edn., 1871, chapters II, VIII, X and XII.

Capricorn (*Makara*).[6] On full moon days special celebrations are done and all the fifteen phases of the moon, lunar days or *tithis* are deemed sacred. Among the people of Indian origin in Trinidad the celebrations of full moon day, eleventh day of the brighter half of the month (*Ekādashi*) and *Saṅkrānti* are known. Even Gaṇeśa Chaturthī in honour of Gaṇeśa, the elephant faced God, is celebrated in some homes and salt is not eaten on Sundays. But Nag Panchami, in honour of the Snake-God, and Goddess when Hindus offer *lava* (fried paddy) and milk to snakes in the month of Śravan is no longer celebrated here.

The month of Phalgun or Fagun (February-March) is the most beautiful in North India when the Ashoka, mango and palas trees are in full bloom. It is specially sacred to the Hindu God Viṣṇu, the preserver of the world.

The Hindu festival of colour on the full moon day of Phagun is called Phagwa (Phagua). It is also called *Hori* or *Holi* on the basis of the following legend : Once upon a time there was a *daitya* (deman) King, named Hiraṇya-Kaśipu (golden-dressed) who had been granted the boon by God Brahma that he could not be killed

6. S. C. Dube, *Indian Village*, Bombay, 1967 p. 97 : it is popularly called Tila Saṅkrānti, the day of the winter solstice marking the change of season, when days start gradually getting longer and some special sweets of fried rice and *til* ("bene" in Trinidad and 'sesame' in English) are eaten.

either in the day or night by man, beast or god.[7] Thus safeguarded, he terrorised gods and men. The demon's son, Prahlād (meaning 'full of joy'), a staunch devotee of Lord Viṣṇu, incurred the wrath of his father. When the poison and some other devices failed to kill the boy, the father asked his sister Holikā who was supposed to be safeguarded against fire by a boon, to enter fire with the boy. But by the grace of Viṣṇu the demoness died while the boy survived. When the father hit a piller of his palace, mocking at the boy whether Viṣṇu was there, Viṣṇu in the form of half man and half lion (Narasimha, one of the incarnations) appeared and slew the demon[8] with his nails.

One of the legends about holikā says that she was in ancient times a monstrous woman which who was burnt by the people who pelted stones on her and shouted to drown her shrieks and then to pacify her spirit threw fried pulse, dates and milk into the fire.[9]

Another legend connects *Holi* with the witch Putanā who attempted to kill infant Kṛṣṇa, another most

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7. Benjamin Walker, *Hindu World*, vol. I, London, 1968, p. 451. Also see William Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. 3rd reprint, Delhi, 1968, vol. II, p. 312 : the legend is localized at Deokali near Irich in the district of Jhansi in North India.

8. Pierre Grimal (ed.), *Larousse World Mythology*, London, 1965, p. 213. Also see Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, *Evolution of Hindu Sects*, New Delhi, 1970 p. 58 : The incarnation of Narasimha or Man-lion stands by itself, but the legend of Viṣṇu killing Hiranyakashipu in the form of a man-lion is mentioned in the Vedic literature, viz., Taittiriya Aranyaka, X.1.6.

9. Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 281-282.

popular incarnation of Viṣṇu, but was herself killed instead.

Yet another legend says that Holika was the sister of Sambat (Samvat), the Hindu year, and when she burnt herself at the funeral pyre of her brother, she was restored to life due to her devotion.[10] Perhaps this legend is connected with the victory of Emperor Chandragupta II Vikramāditya over the Hūṇa invaders who in the late fourth century A. D. threatened the freedom of India. In course of time Vikram Samvat which begins on the first day of the month of Chaitra (Chait), a day after Phagwa, got associated with the festival and the burning of *Sambat*, signifying the end of the old Hindu year and the beginning of the new one, is an important item of Holi in North India. Of late it has taken huge bonfires on all crossroads in the village or the town.

Indeed, all these legends from India, a couple of which are quite popular among the people of Indian origin in Trinidad, illustrate the victory of the god over evil, In very ancient times, however, Phagwa was mainly a spring festival. According to Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* it was called the *Vasanta* or *Suvasantaka* of the third century A. D. and *Madana-Mahotsva* according to other authorities. The Sanskrit dramas, *Ratnāvali* of the seventh century A. D. and *Mālatīmādhava* of the eithth century A. D., also refer to it as a spring festival

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10. Crooke, op. cit., vol. II, p. 314. Also see p. 319 : '*sambat jalānā*' (burning of the old Indian year), with which some older people of Indian origin in Trinidad are familier.

in which a large number of people participated.[11] In South India this popular festival is said to commemorate the burning of Madan (Kāmadeva), the God of love, by Lord Śiva, one of the three main manifestations of the *Brahman*, the ultimate reality. The flowerly arrow of Kāma is said to have failed to rouse the passion of Śiva, who burnt him to ashes for his offence, but due to the entreaties of Rati, the wife of the love god, Śiva restored him to life.[12] Kāma, says a legend, wanted to win the attention of Śiva towards Pārwati for the consummation of their marriage was supposed to lead to the birth of a war-god who would kill the troublesome demon Tāraka.[13] Raghunandana, a writer of the sixteenth century A. D., says that in his time the images of the God of love and his wife were adorned with flowers on the occasion of this festival. In parts of South India, especially in the Tamil speaking areas, the effigies of Kāma and Rati are burnt in *Holi* even now.

In fact, every ancient civilisation had an annual spring festival, a feast of Eros in spring-time full moon or a carnival or a battle of flowers or a May Day fro-

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11. N. K. Bose, 'Spring Festival of India', *Culture and Society in India*, London, 1967, p. 49.

12. A. L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India*, Fontana-Collins, 1971, p. 318. Rudra of the *Ṛgveda* becomes Śiva, 'the deity of transcendent darkness embodiment of the disintegrating tendency (*tamas*), only in the Upaniṣads : Alain Danielou, *Hindu Polytheism*, New York, 1964, p. 189.

13. Basham, op. cit., p. 331. Also see A. G. Atkins (ed. and trans.), *The Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsidas*, Delhi, 1954, pp. 110-111,

lic.[14] Ancient Assyria, Egypt, Greece and the Hittite empire—each had some such celebration.

Some anthropologists and sociologists trace the origin of Phagwa to the harvest rites which existed in India's remote past, as in ancient Babylon, Rome and Persia. It is also said to be the survival of a primitive and bloody fertility ceremony.[15]

According to J. G. Fraser, the Holi fire rests on the same basis as that of similar observances in Europe—'sun charms or magical ceremonies intended to ensure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals, and plants.'[16] It is also said that Phagwa started as an Indian Saturnalia of Carnival when all classes of people mingled without any restraint or inhibition. Some of the tribes of India, like the Gonds and the Bhils—celebrated this Saturnalia with complete abandon in the nineteenth century.[17]

Till recently many Brahmans of North India attached special significance to the Holi fire : the babies

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14. Sister Nivedita, 'Holi, the Festival of Spring', vide B. N. Pandey (ed.), *A Book of India*, London, 1965, p. 246. Also see James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1829, reprint, 1950, p. 478.

15. Basham, op. cit., p. 209 : However, the grim significance of the red powder seems to have been lost.' Also see Walker, op. cit. p. 351.

16. Vide Crooke, op. cit , vol. II, p. 314.

17. Ibid, pp. 324-325. Jawaharlal Nehru calls this festival a 'carnival' : See *The Discovery of India*, Bombay, 1961, p. 159 : In many villages of North India men and women take part in processions with fun and frolic as it was done in the villages of ancient Greece and Rome.

were taken round the fire, they would be dressed in new clothes and ornament, dry colour (*abir*) would be thrown on them and a coconut burnt in the Holi fire would be distributed as *prasad*[18] (offering to a God to receive his grace). This fire was supposed to ward off diseases and the ashes and burnt pieces of wood, like the Yule log in England, would be put aside with the belief that they would guard the ouse from evil spirits.[19]

Undoubtedly Phagwa is one of the oldest festivals of the Hindus. The earliest reference to it is found in *śabara-bhāṣya* of Jaimini's Pūrvamīmāṁsā of about the middle of the fourth century A. D. Possibly Śavaravāmin was a contemporary of Chandragupta II and therefore this festival, as noted above, is connected with the Hūṇa episode. *The Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, which is a work of the pre-seventh century A. D. period, does not mention the swing-festival connected with Kṛṣṇa as a part of Phagwa, though many later songs of this festival describe Kṛṣṇa's sports. Later Alberuni, a Muslim traveller to India, wrote around 1,000 A. D. that this festival was observed in the month of Phagun, while the swing festival in honour of Kṛṣṇa was held in the next month of the Hindu Calendar, Caitra (Chait).[20] Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* of the sixteenth century A. D. says that the festival of Holi was a great enjoyment among the general masses. In fact, the great Mughal emperor of India, Akbar (1556-1605 A. D.), and some of his successors gave an official status to Holi in the Mughal

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18. Stevenson, op. cit., p. 19.
19. Crooke, op. cit., vol. II, p. 318.
20. Bose, op. cit., p. 39.

courts.[21] Abdullah Khan, one of the king makers of Delhi in the eighteenth century, as well as two *nawabs* (rulers) of Bengal in the eighteenth century, Siraj-ud-daulah and Mir Jafar, observed the *Holi* festival with courtiers and relatives.[22] James Tod in the first quarter of the nineteenth century A. D. observed in Rajasthan that the spring festival started on the fifth day of the second half of the month of Magh and continued for forty days. As the month of Phagun advanced, wrote Tod, "the bacchanalian mirth increases; groups are continually patrolling the streets, throwing a crimson powder at each other, or ejecting a solution of it from syringes, so that the garments and visages of all are one mass of crimson".[23] On the last day of the celebration the burning of Holika was done in the large bonfires with a lot of dancing and screaming.

The noisy or boisterous aspect of Phagwa with the clash of cymbals, the beating of drums, the unsightly figures covered with red powder and the jets of coloured water thrown at passers-by' makes it a carnival for common people.[24] Mahatma Gandhi is an article in the *Vegetarian* of 25 April 1891 said that during the fort-

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21. *The Gazetteer of India*, vol. I. (Land and People), Delhi, 1965, p. 478: Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah Rangeela of the eighteenth century used to play 'Holi' after dressing himself as Kṛṣṇa.

22. R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri and K. K. Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, London, 1960, p. 599.

23. Tod, op. cit., p. 449.

24. Bhattacharya, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 486.

night preceding the festival obscene language was freely used and even ladies were besmeared with mud.[25]

For the people of refined taste, however, Phagwa is first an occasion of *pūjā* (worship), *upāsanā* (meditation), *havana* (fire sacrifice), and then a time for relaxation, fun and frolic. The affluent families mix rose and jasmine water in the colour and mica pieces in *abir* to be freely used in a get-together where all friends and even distant relations are invited. All inhibitions of caste and status disappear and bitterness as well as worry yield place to merriment, cordiality and greater zest for life. Singing, dancing, reciting of poetry and floral decorations become important aspects of the festival. There are special forms of music for this occasion : Hori dhammar which originated in the folk songs of Vraj in Uttar Pradesh is classical form of music ;[26] Hori is an evolution of dhrupad, sung in Dhammar *tal,* having fourteen beats, narrating stories of Lord Kṛṣṇa.[27] Hori lyrics have words like *rang khelna, phag khelna* (play colour, play phagwa), incorporating the stories of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa playing *Holi.* Dhrupad, another classical form, is more sophisticated. It is usually in brajbhasa, a varient of Hindi : '*Hori Khele Nandalal, Biraj men*' (Lord Kṛṣṇa is playing *Holi* in *Vraj*). Rāg Vasant (Basanta) is inspired by the beauty of spring, suggesting an esctacy at the end of dreary winter. Kabira or

25. Vide *The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. I, Delhi, 1958, p. 43.

26. The *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, 17 March 1968.

27. Naushad, 'Music ; a gift from God,' *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 15 June 1969.

Jogira, sung very loudly and with complete abandon, is a lighter song. Also, Jhumar is quite popular in some parts of Bihar.

In several beautiful paintings of the Middle Ages of Garhwal and Kangra of the Himalayan foothills in India, Radha and the cowgirls are shown celebrating the Holi festival, Krishna syringing them with coloured water and receiving in his turn red powder.[28] Kṛṣṇa's flute represented the call of God and the cowgirls the souls of men, and the latter were induced to leave the world and to love the Supreme Soul.

It may be said that during the last one thousand or more years Phagwa (Holi) has become a combination of many festivals and it has retained certain local characteristics in every part of India. Thus in Bengal in North-east India it has the following features : the performance of the Vedic sacrifice by a priest, the worship of Kṛṣṇa in connection with the bonfire, the burning of a human or animal effigy in the bonfire ; and general revelry.[29] In West Bengal and Orissa the idol of Kṛṣṇa, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, is swung and carried in a procession. In the area of Vraj in Uttar Pradesh Kṛṣṇa's sportings are commemorated : the revellers go to the place of Radha, Barsana, twenty-six miles away from Mathura and indulge in buffooneries, caricature, etc., and stage a mock fight between the men of Nandgaon where Kṛṣṇa lived in his childhood, and women of Barsana.[30] In several parts of Uttar Pradesh the idols

28. W.G. Archer, *The Loves of Krishna*, London 1957. p. 109.
29. Bose, op. cit., p. 41.
30. Vide Crooke, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 315-16.

of Rāma and Sītā are swung on the occasion of Holi. Also, boys and girls swing and dance to commemorate the sportings of Gopāla (Kṛṣṇa).

In some areas of North India dust and mud are thrown on passers-by a day before the final Holi.[31] In Western India the *pūjā* of Goddess Gaurī, the consort of Lord Śiva, is a special part of the festivity. In the Panjab[32] some people observe *Hola Mohalla* with mock battle, hunting, etc., and the folk dance called Bhangra is a special feature of the celebrations. In the early nineteenth century Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Panjab, used to sit with about three dozens of pretty girls armed with bow and arrow and all the courtiers and guests including the British and Afghan envoys were besmeared with yellow powder *saffron* and soaked with coloured water from a long gold squirt *pichkari* on the *Holi* day.[33]

Music and playing with colour are perhaps the most important part of the festival, common to all parts of North India. After the winter season comes the

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31. In Surinam they have retained this 'Dhulahri' see U. Arya, *Ritual Songs and Folksongs of the Hindus Surinam.* Leidon, 1968, p. 22.

32. In the first decade of the twentieth century the Panjabis would have 'pools of red-coloured water during the lively days of the annual Holi festival' : John Campbell Oman, *Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India*, London, 1908. p. 95.

33. D. R. Sood, Ranjit Singh, New Delhi, 1968, p. 66. Some old Indians in Trinidad who came from the Banaras area of India recall the 'Burhawa Mangal' when on Tuesday following Phagwa there would be so much colour thrown by older people from boats into the Ganges that the water would become coloured.

beautiful spring season. In the literature of India the beauty and colour of this season is a recurrent theme. Kālidāsa, the greatest Sanskrit poet of ancient India, has given an excellent discription of this season in his works of the fifth century A. D. The Bhakti poet of medieval India, preaching intense devotion to a personal God, composed beautiful poems on the sportings of Kṛṣṇa in the spring festival. The Rajput princess Meera Bai and Vidyāpati Thakur of Mithila (North Bihar) were two such prominent saints. Kabir Das (1440-1518) of Banaras called upon the people in his mystic poetry to play '*Hori*' (Holi) in a special sense. He compared the individual soul (*jivātmā*) to a bride eager to play 'Hori' with her husband, the Supreme Reality, i. e. God.

In describing the festival of Phagwa in Trinidad we have to remember that a vast majority of 143,000 Indian immigrants who came to Trinidad between 1845 and 1917 were from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and they were familiar with the Phagwa festival of a particular kind. Before the Indian village settlements came into being in Trinidad around 1870 they had no facility for celebrating such a festival. Even in the closing years of the nineteenth century Phagwa was not so important a festival here as Hose (Muharram or *tazia* of the Muslims) and the Madrasi fire walking ceremony.[34] It was not even as important as the Manasa puja, Diwali (festival of lights) and Mahashivaratri.[35] This is surprising

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34. *Correspondence respecting the recent Collie Disturbances in Trinidad at the Mohurram festival with the report of H. W. Norman*, London, 1 85, para. 2.

35. *The Port of Spain Gazette*, 24 Sept. 1897. Also see 'The Munsah Festival' (worship of snake goddess) *in POS Gazette*, 6 Aug 1896, 'The Indian Festival of 'Dehwarri-Ahmawas' Divali in *POS Gazette*, 27 October 1897.

because Phagwa had been the most famous and interesting of the village festivals' of[36] North India, in any case, 'one of the major Hindu festivals',[37] collectively held in the temple or in its surroundings.[38] Even in neighbouring Guyana (British Guiana) Phagwa was the most popular Hindu festival in the second decade of the present century, almost as popular as the Muslim festival of Muharram.[39]

In Trinidad and Tobago, however, partly because of acculturation and partly because of lack of facilities, this festival remained a local affair. According to section 234 of the Immigration ordinance at the turn of the nineteenth century the Indian festivals and processions connected with them were to be regulated from time to time.[40] Only for the great Muslim celebration of the Taziya was two days' leave granted to Indians.[41]

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36. Crooke, op. cit., p. 313.

37. Walker, op. cit., I. p. 351.

38. Louis Renou (ed.), *Hinduism*, New York, 1963, p. 17. In the village of the author of this paper in India the villagers used to assemble in the temple of Goddess Chaṇḍī (Durgā) before visiting each family up to two decades back.

39. J. MoNeill and Chimmanlal, *East India (Indentured labour), Report to the Govt. of India* on the conditions of Indian immigrants in four British Colonies and Surinam, London, 1915, p. 73.

40. *Collie Immigration Ordinances in Trinidad and British Guiana* London 1904, p. 120. Also see the Immigrants Festival Ordinance of 1882 in *Correspondence on Coolie Disturbances*, op. cit., pp. 2-4.

41. *Sanderson Committee Report* on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies, London, 1910, p. 77. Also see D. W. D. Comins, *Note on Emigration from India to Trinidad*, Calcutta, 1893, p. 46 : it mentions Muhharam leave and says that Durga puja was never observed in Trinidad.

Moreover, in Trinidad, the Indians found a climate like that of Kerala (South India) and the majority of them coming from North India missed the spring season with trees laden with new leaves and flowers. The very source of inspiration for the festivity was thus absent. And yet the Indians celebrated this festival on a small scale. Older Indians tell us that in the indenture days Phagwa was first celebrated individually and then families exchanged colour and sweets. Even dust and mud were thrown at each other. As Morton Klass records, "Some people have happy memories of a bygone time when mixtures of mud and cowdung were thrown, as well as *abir*, but that was long ago."[42]

We are also told that even the bonfire with a pole was arranged in the Indian villages of Trinidad and groups of people with syringes, coloured water and sometimes dry colour (*abir*) would visit the homes of neighbours, friends, etc., singing and dancing. The South Indian aspect of the festival as the Kamotsava, or the Gauripuja of Western India or the Dol Yatra of North-eastern India or the Hol Mahalla of the Punjab never got revived here. But the immigrants from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, who formed the majority did revive and popularise their own brand of Phagwa. In fact, the name 'Phagwa' is known only in the rural areas of these two states of North India, as also 'Hori',[43] another name in place of 'Holi'. As in Guyana, the magenta crystals were dissolved in water and the fluid with a rich

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42. Klass, op. cit., p. 167. One Ramlal Sadhu of South Trinidad and a few others confirm this.

43. M. J. Kirpalani et al, *Indian Centenary Review*, 100 years of Progress, Trinidad, 1845-1945, POS, 1945, p. 77.

crimson colour was thrown or squirted on each other by metal syringes'.[44] What Mountstuart Elphinstone had lamented about India in the early nineteenth century, was true of Phagwa of the West Indies : intoxication with *bhanga* (hemp or marjuana).[45]

It is true that before 1960's Phagwa could not come into national focus in Trinidad and Tobago and in spite of the demand of the Sanatana Dharma Mahasabha in 1970, it is not yet the national holiday as Diwali is. Yet this 'Festival of colour,[46] has during the last five years, assumed a new dimension. The Phagwa season is heralded with 'chowtal' singing in some Indian homes and community centres on the Vasant Panchami day in January-February, forty days before Phagwa.[47] But the real preparation in most homes begins about ten days before the actual festival.

It is true that some high caste Hindus do *puja* (worship), *bhajan* (devotional singing) and *hawan* (fire sacrifice) in Phagwa, but the most important aspect of the festival now is the *chowtal*, four beats connected with Vasant raga, with the themes of colour, vitality, romance, etc., with reference to Kṛṣṇa or Rāma.[48]

44. Peter.Ruhomon, *Centenary History of the East Indians in British Guiana*, 1838-1938, Georgetown, 1946, p. 110.

45. Ibid. Now in Guyana the Phagwa day is a national holiday.

46. Arthur and Juanists Niehoff, *East Indians in the West Indies* Milwaukee, 1960, p. 123.

47. Vide *The Trinidad Guardian*, Port of Spain, 21 January and 8 February 1973.

48. Arya, op. cit., p. 22 : "Although there are many types of songs sung at this time the singing is referred to collectively as *cautal* because the *cautal* is the most prominent of all the songs of Phagwa festival."

Even on radio and in the Indian programmes on television chowtal singing with 'dholak (an Indian drum), *majira*, *kartal*, etc., can be heard. Intense rehearsals go on for the final chowtal competition and the best talents of every village are given regular training by elders. In some areas there are separate chowtal bands for men and women and they tour the rural areas on open trucks.

In India Dhrupad was originally sung to the beats of *chowtal*, but now *Ada Chowtal* and Sootlal are sometimes used. In Trinidad, however, the young singers seldom mention Dhrupad, Dhammar or Vasanta. No singer, however, is allowed to go "off the beat".[49] In no song is any reference made to Prahlad and Holika; the recurrent theme is the sporting of Kṛṣṇa. Singings are normally organized in the evenings, two groups with musical instruments facing each other. Some lines of songs are repeated very loudly. In the *jhumar* or *ulārā* following *chowtal*, there are dance rhythms.[50] Some of the other types of songs have the same theme, though they differ in length, rhyme, etc., and they are sung to the accompaniment of harmonium and *dholak* (small drum): '*Panghat na ja panghat na ja, chhaila abir marela*' (do not go to the bank of the river, for the boy (KṚṢṆA) throws colour). Jogira and Kabir in two line pieces are rare now, but in the past talented Indians of Trinidad used to compose them off hand like the calypso, adding humour, satire, etc. In the *chowtal*. *Jhumar*, Ulars, Dhamar, and Chaital or Chaiti, the various names of KṚṢṆA, Kanhaiya (Kanha), Giridhari (Giradhari)

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49. Klass, op. cit., p. 165.
50. Arya, op. cit., p. 22.

and the names of river Yamuna (Jamna), Vraj, etc., can be heard. The greatest day for the *chowtal* groups come when there is the all-Trinidad and sometimes inter-island competition on the occasion of Phagwa. No wonder the Phagwa is usually called the 'Indian carnival' because of the present emphasis on 'secular fun',[51] the 'goles' are now called 'bands' and *tassa* (Indian drum) playing is an important item.

Throwing of *abir* which means coloured powder in India is very often replaced in Trinidad by white powder—a welcome relief indeed! But the red dye mixed with water which is called *abir*[52] now, is boiled from the early morning of the Phagwa day. If the actual full moon day of Phagwa does not fall on Sunday, the Sunday following is declared the Phagwa day and the Phagwa committee of the National Council of Indian Music and Drama of Trinidad and Tobago organizes the biggest Phagwa shows in the Aranguez Savannah in San Juan for the North and at the Skinner Park in San Fernando For the South, where thousands of people assemble. Amidst the random into throwing of *abir*,

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51. Klass, op. cit., p. 165. The Hindu sect of Shivanarayaṇis in Trinidad celebrate the Vasant Panchami and a few people worship Saraswati, the goddess of learning and music. In Bengal (India), besides these *pujas*, on the Phagwa day the birth anniversary of the great Vaishṇava Saint Chaitanya Mahaprabhu (1485-1534 A. D.) is celebrated. Now the National Phagwa Council of Trinidad and Tobago is celebrating Vasant Panchami and performing religious rites connected with Phagwa: See *Trinidad Guardian*, 11 Feb. 1973.

52. The red colour, some old Indians believe, symbolises the sand of the Yamuna river strained with the blood of the demons whom Krishna slew: Nivedita op. cit. p. 249.

drinking of rum, singing and dancing the bands like Basant Bahar and a hundred others come to the stage in special dresses, singing, jumping and sometimes enacting scenes from the Hindu epics. Sometimes even police men are not spared and the besmeared faces and coloured clothes of men and women is a sight never to be forgotten. The best bands get prizes. Exchange of visits by the chowtal groups of Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana and Surinam also take place. The Aranguez Agricultural Chowtal Group of San Juan, for example, visited Guyana and Surinam recently, and the Avocat Ladies Chowtal Group and the Felicity Chowtal Group and some members of the National Phagwa Festival Council participated in the Phagwa celebrations of Surinam after a Surinam group took part in the *Chowtal* singing competition in Trinidad. Singing and dancing or swinging are done by *goles* (group) like Saraswati Kirtan Bhajan, Sumatie Saj Milan, Simboo Milan, Vijay youth, St. Jolien Ramayan, Tulsi Das Ramayan Satsangee, Sarda Parkash (Prakash) Goal, Sant Milan Goal in the South and the El Socorro Phagwa Band, St. James Chowtal Group, Barataria Phagwa Band and Hermittage Village Phagwa Band in the North.

In the North and South chowtal clash the South won in 1972. The playing by the group with *tassa, jhals*, etc., is a real treat. Scenes from Kṛṣṇalīlā were enacted by a group in Aranguez in 1970 in a satisfactory manner. The contribution of late Lutchmie Narine Parray, Founder President of the National Phagwa Council of Trinidad, in organizing the festival on a national scale cannot be minimised.

Phagwa is also a family celebration in rural Trinidad where Indians are in majority. Usually people wear old cloth and with bottles of coloured water and packet of pink powder smear their friends, relatives and passers-by.[53] Even the parents and in-laws are not spared. With giggling and noise the joking relations—mami (maternal uncle's wife), *bhauji* (elder brother's wife), sar (wife's brother) and others—are special targets. This reminds us of the atmosphers of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in India. The husband's elder brother (*barka or bhaisur*) and younger brother's wife (*chhotki* or *bhavah* or *bhabhu*) are not touched. Some white-collared civil servants are attacked with colour unawares. Cows are sprinkled with reverence.

The children have the nicest time. Special sweets (*pua, khurma, laddu, khaja, jilebi*, etc.) are made in some homes and some buy them from *haluai* (sweetmeat maker).

The lighting of the bonfire (*holi* is called *hutāsinī* or fire-consuming) to burn all evils, the erection and circumambulation of a pole, reminiscent of the Maypole of Europe,[54] of rural North India as well as the refined classical singing, the *mushaira* (poet's meeting) and *mūrkha-mahotsava* (assembly of fools) of urban North India have a'most disappeared from among the Trinidad Indians, but lately some Indians are trying to revive the bonfire.[55] Also, the exchange of visits by friends and relations, singing, dancing and jumping with complet

53. Klass, op. cit., p. 166.
54. Walker, op. cit., p. 351.
55. The *Trinidad Guardian*, 11 Feb. 1973.

abandon, are retained in their original form. The *chowtal* singing is being expanded, every area having its share in the national contest. The Phagwa Band of the year receives $1,000 as prize along with a trophy, and some regional organisations offer prizes to the best dressed individual, best dressed band, Queen of the Phagwa festival and Band of the year.[56]

Phagwa reminds the Indians in Trinidad of the ordeal of Prahlad, a firm believer in divine power, and his ultimate survival, the triumph of Lord Viṣṇu and the destruction of the unbelievers. The spirit of mirth, joy and friendship associated with this festival has sustained the Hindus of this island of the Caribbean through the trials and tribulations of a new existence.

Perhaps Phagwa in Trinidad is a Hindu counterpart of the Christian Carnival brought by the French and of the Hose festival of the Muslims with some spiritual overtone. It is interesting to note that non-Hindus also take part in the Phagwa festivities in large numbers. The Phagwa congregations symbolise the revival of Indian culture, provide strength and zest for life to the Hindus and create in them a spirit of fellow-feeling.

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56. The *Trinidad Guardian*, 21 Jan. and 19 Feb. 1973.

MNEMONIC VERSES IN THE PADAMAÑJARI OF HARADATTAMIŚRA[1]

D. K. KHARWANDIKAR

Ahmednagar

It is observed that ancient Sanskrit writers many times give, what are called, the *saṁgrahaślokas* or mnemonic verses, either composed by themselves or borrowed from some older works. They are chiefly intended for summarising the details and designed to help the memory. We come across many such *saṁgrahaślokas* in the MBh of Patañjali and the *Kāśikā* of Jayāditya-Vāmana. Even Jinendrabuddhi and Haradattamiśra, the celebrated commentators of the *Kāśikā* have given *Saṁgrahaślokas* independently on many occasions. The present article deals with the *Saṁgrahaślokas* in the *PM* of Haradattamiśra, also known as Haradatta. Before we proceed it will be worthwhile to attempt a classification of verses in the *PM* as mentioned below :

(i) Quotations from the Vedic literature.

(ii) Quotations from the Archaic literature.

(iii) Quotations from the classical literature.

(iv) Mnemonic verses or the *Saṁgrahaślokas*.

(v) Miscellaneous quotations.

(1) The *Saṁgrahaślokas* occurring in the *PM* are mostly in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre excepting a few verses which

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1. Part of the thesis submitted to and accepted by the University of Poona for the degree of Ph.D. in 1973.

are in the *Sragdharā* metre. Following are the cases of the *Sragdharā* type of verses :—

Sūtra No.	PM-Vol. P	No. of Verses	Initial remarks
IV.1.78	III.388	3	*Atra Saṁgrahalśokāḥ*
IV.1.13	IV.467	1	nil
VI.1.27	IV.484	1	nil
VI.1.69	IV.529	1	*Atra Saṁgrahaślokaḥ*
VI.4.23	V.376	1	,, ,,
VII.3.3	VI.8	2	*Atra Saṁgrahaślokau*
	Total	9	

We know nothing about the source of these verses. But from the initial remark it appears that Haradatta refers to these verses as coming from some other source.

(2) Out of about 200 mnemonic verses, about 81 are from the *VP* of Bhartṛhari.[2] Out of the remaining verses some are from the *MBh* and other grammatical works.[3] The rest are probably Haradatta's own composition.

2. *K. V. Abhyankar* and *V. P. Limaye* in their edition of *VP* have recorded 72 quotations in the *PM* from the *VP*. But on close perusal I came to notice that no less than 81 verses from the *VP* are quoted by Haradatta. I have included them in the Appendix-I to my thesis entitled '*Haradatta : A Critical Study*'.

3. For quotations from the *MBh* see the *PM* under the following P. Sūtras : I.4.2, I.4.51, IV.1.3, IV.1.39, IV.1.63, VI.1.87, VIII.1.9 etc.

(3) Whenever Hardatta quotes from some other work he makes some such initial remark as follows : (i) *āha* or *āha ca*, (ii) *śrūyate hi*, *smaryate ca*, (iii) *tad uktaṁ Hariṇā*, *uktaṁ ca*, *ucyate* etc. This gives us a clue to determine whether a particular verse is Haradatta's own composition or whether it is borrowed by him from some other source.

(4) It has to be admitted that a good number of mnemonic verses might have been a floating stock freely used by any writer. But despite this fact the authorship of many verses can be ascribed to Haradatta. This assumption is strengthened by the following evidence :—

(i) Sāyaṇa in his *Dhātuvṛtti* has ascribed the authorship of two verses under P.VII.4.2 to Haridatta.[4]

(ii) Bhaṭṭoji in his *Prauḍha Manoramā* quotes, on two different occasions, two verses from the *PM* and ascribes their authorship to Haradatta.

(a) Firstly under P.I.3.74, Bhaṭṭoji writes as follows :—

तदेतत् सर्वं हरदत्तोऽपि संजग्राह–"एष विधिर्न चुरादिणिजन्तात् स्यादिति कश्चन निश्चिनुतेस्म । आप्तवचोऽत्र न किंचन दृष्टं लक्षयतेः स्वरितेत्त्वमनार्षम् ।"

(Op. cit, p. 686).

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4. For the verses see *PM* Vol. VI, p. 132. Sāyaṇa's remark is as follows :—

अत्र हरदत्तेन–"शक्यः शासिग्रहोऽकर्तुमृदेष पठिष्यते । कृशासु-अनुशिष्टावित्येवमेके प्रचक्षते" इत्यनुशासनार्थस्य......एवमृदित्त्वादिनां शासिग्रहणे निरर्थके यन्मतान्तरेण फलमुक्तं हरदत्तेनैव– "वदन्त्यन्ये तु सूत्रेस्मिन् शासिं निरनुबन्धकम् । पठन्तः प्रतिषेधोऽस्य यङ्लुक्यपि भवेदिति ।" तदयुक्तम् ।

(Op. cit, p. 332, under *ā+śāsu*).

This verse referred to by Bhaṭṭoji occurs in the *PM*, Vol. I, p. 480. Strangely enough the verse is not identified by the editors of the *PM* (Vārāṇasī edition) and that is why it is not printed there in its metrical form. The passage printed there is as follows :—

एष विधिश्चुरादिणिजन्तात् स्यादिति । कश्चन निश्चिनुतेस्म–अप्राप्तवचनेऽत्र न किंचन दृष्टम्, लक्षयतेः स्वरितेत्त्वमनार्षम् ।

It is obvious that this passage is nothing but the verse referred to by Bhaṭṭoji, in a mutilated form. We do not know when the mutilation took place, but that it was intact in the days when Bhaṭṭoji wrote his work.

Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka has made some observations about this verse as follows :

"महापदमंजरी संभव है, यह भी काशिका की व्याख्या हो। इसकी पुष्टि दैववार्त्तिक पुरुषकारसे होती है। उसमें "णिचश्च" (पा. सू. १.३ ७४) सूत्रस्थ एक हरदत्तीय कारिका ऊद्धृत् की है। वह पदमंजरी में नहीं मिलती। अतः वह महापदमंजरी से उद्धृत की गई होगी।"

*Foot Note हरदत्तस्तु "णिचश्च" (पा. सू. १.३.७४) इत्यत्राह एषाः विधिर्न......स्वरितेत्त्वमनार्षम् ।। इति ।। पृष्ठ १०६, १०७, हमारा संस्क.

From the above remarks of *Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṁsaka* it is clear that he has not been able to trace the above *Kārikā* in the *PM* and so anticipates its existence in the *Mahāpadamañjarī* not extant to-day. But we have already shown that the *Kārikā* occurs in the *PM* under P.I.3.74.

(b) Under P.VII.3.47, Bhaṭṭoji quotes the following two verses of Haradatta which are found under the same *sūtra* in the *PM* (Vol. VI, p. 57) :

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5. *Sanskrit Vyākaraṇaśāstra Kā Itihāsa*, p. 474 (2nd edn. Ajmer, 1963).

उक्तं च हरदत्तेन । "अत्रातः स्थान इत्येतत् स्वशब्दस्य विशेषणम् । संभव-व्यभिचारी हि तत्र स्तः काकचोः सतोः । द्वयेतदोः संभवो नास्ति, नान्यत्राव्यभिचारिता । सर्वनाम्नः स्वशब्दस्य तेन नायं विधिर्भवेत ।"

Prauḍha Manoramā, p. 412)

The above two references are an unmistakable proof for the fact that Haradatta was actually recognised as the author of some mnemonic verses.

(5) Sometimes it is observed that Haradatta has versified the prose portions from the *MBh*, *Kāśikā*, *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi and the *Pradipa* of Kaiyaṭa.[6] The following instances given at some length will clarify this point :—

(i) Under P.III.3.18, Haradatta gives the following two verses :

न विना लिङ्गसंख्याभ्यां सत्त्वभूतोऽर्थं उच्यते ।
इत्यतन्त्रमुपादानं तयोर्न तु विवक्षितम् ॥
धान्यार्थिनमुपादानं पलालादेर्यथा मतम् ।
शब्दसंस्कारमात्रं तु तन्निदेशप्रयोजनम् ॥

The first of the above two verses is the *VP* III.1.51. *K. V. Abhyankar* and *V. P. Limaye*, the joint editors of the *VP* remark that the source of the second verse is untraced.[7] But it can be observed that this second verse is the versification of the relevant portion from the *MBh* and probably composed by Haradatta himself.

The *MBh* passage runs as follows :

6. This appears to be an old practice. Even the *Kāśikākāra* has versified the matter in the *MBh* under the following P. Sūtras :— III.1.134, VI.4.161.

7. Op. cit, Appendix VI, p. 411.

अवश्यं कयाचिद् विभक्त्या केनचिच्च लिङ्गेन निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । तद्यथा, कश्चिदन्नार्थी शालिकलापं सतुषं सपलालमाहरति नान्तरीयकत्वात् । स यावदादेयं तावदादाय तुषपलालान्युत्सृजति ।...... ..नर्देयत्र निर्देशस्तन्त्रम् ।

(MBh, Vol. III, p. 323)

(ii) Haradatta mentions the following verses under P.VII.4.2 :—

नन्वेकमङ्गग्रहणं प्रकृतं तद्धलो यदि
विशेषणं स्यात् कार्यित्वमंगस्येह न लभ्यते ॥
ततश्च विध्दमित्यादावपि दीर्घः प्रसज्यते ।
अथ निर्दिश्यते कार्यी नाहलः स्याद् विशेषणम् ॥
ततो निरूतमित्यादावपि दीर्घत्वमापतेत् ।
सकृच्छ्रुतस्य चैकस्य युज्यते नोभयार्थता ॥
अत आह अङ्गग्रहण मित्यादि ।
आवर्तमानं वस्त्वेकमप्यनेकस्य शेषताम् ।
भजते भाजनं यद्वन्नृणामसहभोजने ॥

This is nothing but the versified form of the corresponding passage from the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi which runs as follows :

ननु चायमर्थोऽस्य सूत्रस्य नोपपद्यत एव, यस्मादङ्गस्येत्वेकमङ्गग्रहणं प्रकृतम् । तच्च हलो विशेषणं वा स्याद् , अङ्गस्य कार्यप्रतिपत्त्यर्थं वा । तत्र यदि पूर्वकः पक्ष आश्रीयते, तदाङ्गविशिष्टस्य संप्रसारणान्तस्याङ्गस्येति यावद् दीर्घो न लभ्यते । अथ द्वितीयस्तदा हल् विशेषितो न स्यात् । तस्माद् द्वितीयमङ्गग्रहणं कर्तव्यं स्यात् । न ह्येकेन शक्यमेतदुभयं प्रतिपादयितुम् अतोऽस्य देश्यस्य निरासायऽऽवृत्ति न्याय माश्रित्याह........अङ्गग्रहणमित्यादि । एकमपि हि वस्त्वावर्तमानमनेकत्रोपयुज्यते । यथैकं भाजनमसहभुजामनेकेषां भुजिक्रियायाम्......तथेदमङ्गग्रहणमावर्तते ।

(*Nyāsa*, Vol. V, p. 328)

(iii) There are four cases where Haradatta has versified the matter from the *Pradīpa* of *Kaiyaṭa*. This also by the by indicates that Haradatta lived after Kaiyaṭa.

Under P.VII.1.68, Haradatta gives the following two verses :—

केवलाभ्यामिहैताभ्यां प्रवेष्टव्यमितीरिते ।
अन्यस्य पुरुषस्यैव प्रवेशः प्रतिषिध्यते ।
न शुकादेः, तथेहापि परस्परयुताविमौ ।
एकाकिनौ विजातीयसहितौ चापि केवलौ ।

Now the above verses can be compared with the following passage from the *Pradīpa* :—

यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्ताभ्यां केवलाभ्यां प्रवेष्टव्यमित्युक्ते पुरुषान्तरस्य प्रतिषिध्यते प्रवेशो न तु शुकादेरेवं सुदुरौ परस्परसहितौ विजातीयसहितावेकाकिनौ च केवलावेव भवतः ।

(*Pradīpa-MBh*, Vol. V, p. 60)

(iv) Haradatta gives the following two verses under P.VII.2.23 :—

अपर आह—

चिति स्मृत्यामितीदित्त्वमत्र ज्ञापकमस्य हि ।
फलं त्रिन्तित इत्यादौ न लोपो मास्म भूदिति ।
नित्ये च णिचि सत्यत्र न लोपस्याप्रसंगतः ।
चिन्त स्मृत्यामित्येव च पठितव्यं भवेदिति ।

Now read the following passage from the *Pradīpa.*

केचिच्चिति स्मृत्यामितीदित्त्वं चुरादिणिचो नित्यत्वस्य ज्ञापकमाहुः इदित्त्वेन नुम्विधाने प्रयोजनं चिन्तित इत्यादौ नलोपाभावः। यदि च चुरादिणिच नित्यः स्यात्तदा चिन्त स्मृत्यामित्येवं पठ्येत । णिचि सति नलोपाप्रसंगात् ।

(*Pradīpa-MBh*, Vol. V, p. 121)

(v) Haradatta has mentioned the following verses under P.VII.4.47 .—

भूतपूर्वगतिर्युक्ता न सामप्रतिकसंभवः ।
न प्रत्ययाप्रत्यययोरित्यस्यात्यत्र संभवः ।
द्वयोस्तुल्यकक्षत्वात् प्रत्ययेऽपो न हि श्रुतः ।

F. 37

The corresponding prose passage from the *Pradīpa* is as follows :—

न च भूतपूर्वंगत्याश्रयो न्याय्यः। अद्भिरित्यवदौ साम्प्रतिकाम्शब्दसंभवे गौणस्याग्रहणादत एव समकक्षत्वाभावात् प्रत्ययाप्रत्यययोः प्रत्यये संप्रत्यय इति नावतिष्ठते।

(*Pradīpa-MBh*, Vol. V, p. 261)

(vi) Under P. VIII.1.69, Haradatta gives the following two verses :—

भार्यास्त्वन्तरसंबन्धं पत्युर्न सहते यथा।
स्नानादिकं तु संस्कारं स्वार्थमेवानुमन्यते।

तथा क्रियापि—

विशेषणेन संबन्धं कर्तुः स्वस्यानुमन्यते।
स्वानुरक्तं तु कर्तारं न क्रियान्तरगामिनम्।

The above two verses agree well with the following passage from the *Pradīpa* :—

यथा भार्या पत्युर्वनितान्तरसंबन्धं न सहते स्नानादिसंस्कारं तु स्वार्थमनुमन्यते तथा क्रियाविशिष्टं साधनमात्मन्यङ्गत्वं गमयितुं तस्य विशेषणेन संबन्धं न प्रतिबहनाति।। क्रियान्तरांगत्वापत्तिस्तु स्वार्थविरोधिनीति तां नानुजानाति।

(*Pradīpa-MBh*, Vol. V, p. 343)

(vii) Under P. VII.2.1, Haradatta gives the following two verses :—

संज्ञाः परार्था अत्यन्तः परिभाषाश्च तद्विधाः।
न स्वातन्त्र्येण तास्तस्मात् कार्यावगतिहेतवः।
अनेकस्य प्रधानस्य शेषभूता भवन्त्विति।
एताः केवलमाचार्यां पृथग्देशा उपादिशत्।

These verses correspond with the following passage from the *Pradīpa* :—

"कार्यकालं संज्ञापरिभाष" मित्यस्मिन् दर्शने संज्ञापरिभाषाणां ह्यत्यन्तपाराथ्यान्न स्वातन्त्र्येण कार्याविगमहेतुत्वम् । केवलमाचार्येण लाघवायानेकप्रधानांगवद्भावप्रतिपत्तये पृथगुपदेशः कृतः ।

(*Pradīpa-MBh*, Vol. V, p. 355)

(viii) Lastly Haradatta mentions under P. VIII.2. 37, the following verse which appears to be the versified version of the passage from the *Kāśikā* under this *sūtra* :—

चत्वारो भष आदेशः स्थानिनस्तु वशस्त्रया ।
डकारस्य तु न क्वापि संभवोऽस्ति कथञ्चन ।

The corresponding passage from the *Kāśikā* is as follows :—

अत्र चतवारो वशा स्थानिनः, भषादेशाश्चत्वार एव तत्र संख्यातानुदेशे प्राप्ते डकारस्य स्थानिनो भावात् डकारादेशो न भवति ।

(*Kāśikā*, Vol. VI, p. 402)

The above instances will make it sufficiently clear how Haradatta has resorted to the metrical form for the corresponding prose portions from the older works. In all probability Haradatta himself is the author of these verses.

(6) As a matter of fact we come across a number of *Saṁgrahaślokas* presumably composed by Haradatta himself, even in his commentaries on various *Kalpasūtras.*[8] This may substantiate our assumption that

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8. Vide *Mitākṣarā* on the *Gautama Dharmasūtra,* I.8-24; *Ujjvalā* on the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, I.3.22.2.

ABBREVIATIONS :

MBh—Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali (with Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* edited by *Vedavrata*, Haryana, 1962.

PM—Padamañjarī (included along with the *Nyāsa* in the *Kāśikā* published by Tara Publications, Vārāṇasī, 1965-66.

P—Pāṇini or Pāṇini's sūtra.

VP—Vākyapadīya.

Haradatta himself might have written some verses in the *Padamañjarī* also.

So far we have discussed various aspects of the problem of mnemonic verses in the *Padamañjarī*. Although it is not possible to give the exact number of verses that can be assuredly ascribed to Haradatta, many of them, as pointed out above, appear to be his own composition.

THE JAINA CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN POETICS

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY
Dharwar

I. In the histories of Sanskrit Poetics available to-day, though some Jaina authors are referred to in passing, we have neither a full survey of all the works nor objective assessment of them taken as a whole. Even in exhaustive surveys like that of Krishnamachariar the major works on poetics by ancient Jaina authors in languages other than Sanskrit are not to be found. The object of this paper is to give a brief outline of the Jaina contribution to the development of literary theories in India taking into consideration some of the major works in Sanskrit as well as in old Kannada.

Jinasena's *Mahāpuraṇa* (9th century A. D.) records in unmistakable terms the tradition of the Jainas that *Alaṅkāra-śāstra* or science of poetics including topics like *alaṅkāras*, two *mārgas* and ten *guṇas* was revealed by the *ādi Tīrthaṅkara* himself for the benefit of humanity.

Upamādīnalaṅkārān sanmārgadvayavistaraṁ|
Daśa prāṇānalaṅkārasaṅgrahe vibhurabhyadhāt||
(XVI.115)

It is again in this *Mahāpurāṇa* that we get for the first time an illuminating explanation of the word '*Vāṅmaya*'. Jinasena says that the three disciplines viz.,

grammar, prosody and poetics collectively form *vāṅmaya* :

Padavidyāmadhicchandoviciliṁ vāgalaṅkṛtiṁ/
Trayīsamuditāmetāṁ tadvido vāṅmayaṁ viduḥ//
(Ibid. XVI.111).

A Dr. Raghavan has pointed out, the first clear enumeration of nine *kāvya-rasas* including *praśānta* and substituting *vrīḍanaka* for *bhayānaka* is to be had in one of the very ancient Jaina *āgamas* viz. *Anuyogadvāra-sūtra* Āgamodaya Samiti Series Ed. P. 134).

Ṇava kavyarasā paṇṇattā, tam jahā-
Vīro siṅgāro abbhuo a roddo a hoi boddhavvo/
Velaṇao bībhaccho hāso kaluṇo pasanto a//
(*The Number of Rasas*, Second Ed. p. 158)

It has been estimated that this canonical *sūtra* cannot be later than the 5th century A.D. Possibly it is much older. In the Jaina poetic tradition as recorded by several old Kannada poets like Ranna (10th century A.D.), Jinendra has only one *rasa* and that is *śānta* and its *sthāyi-bhāva* is *tattva-jñāna*, a tradition also confirmed by Vāgbhaṭa.

Ninage rasamonde śāntame jinendra//
(*Ajita-tīrthaṅkara-purāṇa-tilaka, Jinastuti*).

While praising Saraswatī the same poet states figuratively that her ornaments are not sixteen, but thirty-six, alluding to the thirty-six *lakṣanas*, as against sixteen *saṁskāras* :—

Padinārallavalaṅkriyāracane
Mūvattāru nerpaṭṭavu.........| (*Op. cit.*)

The doctrine of *lakṣaṇas* seen in Bharata was thus kept alive in the Jaina tradition though it went out of vogue in later Sanskrit poetics.

The Jaina religion naturally gave the highest importance to tranquillity or *praśānta* as the highest value in spiritual life. The same was imported openly into the field of poetics too ; so openly that the Jainas went even to the extent of branding even secular poets like Kālidāsa as *kukavis* because of their excessive devotion for *śṛṅgāra*. Jinasena, uses all his wits in rewriting Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* in such a way that each line of Kālidāsa breathing the spirit of *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra* is transformed to yield the *śānta* significance with the help of two or three more new lines added to each line by Jinasena himself. It is the famous *Pārśvābhyudaya*. In this *Kāvya* we have the out and out declaration that '*kāvyadharma*' i.e. *Kavisamaya* has forced *kukavis* like Kālidāsa to regard *śṛṅgara* as *satya* though it is *asatya* in fact :—

Syādvā satyaṁ kukaviracitaṁ kāvyadharmānurodhat
Satyapyevaṁ sakalamuditaṁ jāghatītyeva yasmāt/
Sabhrūbhaṅgaprahitanayanaiḥ kāmilakṣyeśvamoghai-
stasyārambhaścaturavanitāvibhramaireva siddhaḥ//

(*Pārśvābhyudaya*, III. 11)

This presents a new attitude towards poetry as such and gives for the first time an unqualified importance to religious instruction as the foremost concern of poetry. Although Bhāmaha and other Hindu theorists had allowed some room for ethical instruction incidentally in poetry, the general Hindu attitude is represented

by the clear-cut statement in the *Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa* :

Dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇāṁ
śāstraṁ syādupadeśakaṁ/...........
Tadeva kāvyamityuktaṁ
Copadeśaṁ vinakṛtaṁ// (Ch. XV. 1-2).

The distinguishing feature between *śāstra* and *kāvya* was thus none other than *upadeśa* or ethical instruction. The Hindu theorists stood for secular poetry, while the Jaina theorists, like the Buddhists, pleaded strongly for new tradition of religious and ethical poetry. In practice too we find that almost all the Jaina literature in Sanskrit, Prakrit and old Kannada is more religious than secular. This new tradition of pure religious classical literature left its strong influence on later development of vernacular literatures.

II

The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Nṛpatuṅga (9th century A.D.) is credited with the authorship of the first works on poetics in old Kannada, the *Kavirājamārga.* The work is more or less a free adaptation of Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* and much more of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa.* But it begins with *Jinastuti* and has some unique ideas not found in Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. His definition of poetry for instance takes us beyond the words of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin to the *bhāva* of the poet on the one hand and to the *viśeṣa* of *śabdas* as well as *alaṅkāras* relating to *arthavyakti.*

Kavibhāvakṛtāneka
pravibhāgaviviktasūktamārgaṁ kāvyaṁ/
saviśeṣaśabdaracanaṁ
vividhārthavyaktivartí talaṅkāraṁ//

What is still more interesting is his treatment of *mārgas* and their *guṇas* in relation to particular *rasas*, a fact not found either in Bhamaha or Daṇḍin. More surprising is his nomenclature of the pathetic sentiment as *karuṇārasa* in place of the usual *karuṇarasa*. Nṛpatuṇga realises for the first time that *mārgas* are dependent on *rasa*. There is no-clue in the book that he had read Rudrata or Ānandavardhana. Hence all the more reason that Nṛpatuṇga should get the credit for this progressive doctrine :

Bagedu mārgadvitayamaṁ gatigalaṁ
Praguṇa guṇagaṇodayarkal vitarkadim/
Sogayisuvantu vacanaracaneyiṁ
Negaldire berasi pelge rasaviśeṣadol (II. 98)

Vīrarasaṁ sphuṭoktiyinudāratamaṁ
karuṇārasaṁ mṛdū -
ccāraneyindamadbhutarasaṁ nibiḍoktigalinda-
molte' śṛ -
ṅgārarasaṁ samantu sukumārataraktigaliṁ,
prasannagam -
bhīrataroktiyiṁ prakaṭamakke rasaṁ satataṁ
paaśantamuṁ. (II. 99)

Utsavadinde hāsyarasamā madhuroktigalinda-
malte bī-
bhatsarasāntaraṁ śithilabandhanadiṁ satataṁ
bhayānako-
dvatasurasaṁ karaṁ viṣamabanbhanadiṁ nṛpa
tungaḍava mā-

ṛgotsvamūrjitokttgalinakkati raudrasaṁ
rasāvahaṁ. (II. 100)

"After considering carefully the procedure of the two *mārgas*, the poet should so compose his work that it will give the impression of beauty to learned critics. And selecting each of them in tune with particular *rasas* as indicated below.

The *guṇas* of *sphuṭatā* and *udāratā* are appropriate for *vīrarasa*; *Mṛdutā* suits karunarasa most, and compactness (*śleṣa*) is best for *adbhuta*, *Sukumāratā* is suited for *sṛṅgāra*; *prasāda* and *gāmbhīrya* go well with the delineation of *praśānta*.

Utsava is the occasion for the *hāsyarasa* wherein *Madhurokti* preponderates; *śithilabandha* favours *bībhatsa-rasa*; *visamabandha* is helpful in *bhayānaka*. *Urjitokti* is best suited for *raudrarasa*."

We cannot dismiss his *karuṇārasa* as a scribal variation of *karuṇārasa*. For, the example cited by him describes the *virahotkaaṭhā* of the heroine; and the hero is called upon to show pity on her (III.191). The *sthāyi-bhāva* involved here is *karuṇā* or *dayā* (pity) as against *śoka* or suffering.

An even more intriguing tenet of Nṛpatuṅga is his reference to *dhvani* as an *alaṅkāra* and his description of it as 'based on *śabda* though defective in *artha*'. His illustration of it is as follows :—"a pair of *animiṣas* (fish) is shining in the lotus. What a wonder !" The original is as follows :—

Dhvanivembhuḍalaṅkāraṁ
Ḍhvaniyisuguṁ śabdadindamarthade dūṣyaṁ|

Nenevudidanintu kamalado -
lanimiṣayugamoppi torpudintidu codyaṁ//

This reference is of unique interest to scholars because it shows an awareness of *dhvani* as a poetical concept in far off Karnatak, even before the *Dhvanyāloka* reached that remote province from Kashmir. It provides uncontestable proof to the fact that *dhvani* was *samāmnātapūrva* among literary theorists even before Ānandavardhana. Of course his idea of it is too hazy and mistaken to be considered seriously.

III

The next old Kannada theorist is also a Jaina. He is Nāgavarma II, the author of the *Kāvyavālokana* (Circa, 12th century A.D.). Though he expressly acknowledges his indebtedness to Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana and Rudraṭa, he has some new points of his own to add. His definition of poetry and ideas of *śabda* and *artha* are unique :—

Ire śabdārthaṅgal ta-
Tparateyinadu kāvyamadarolucitaikārthān/
Taravāci śabdamavabhā-
Sarūpamāhladakārivappu 'adarthaṁ//

None of the early Sanskrit theorists explain the nature of *sāhitya*, the unique relation of *śabda* and *artha* in poetry. Nāgavarma explains for the first time that it is *tatparatā* or exclusive aesthetic concern. Regarding the nature of *śabda* again unique to poetry, none of the early Sanskrit theorists tell us anything important, including Rudraṭa who is the model for Nāgavarma. They just mention that it should be meaningful, and without defects besides possessing excellences. The principle

underlying the avoidance of defects or the inclusion of excellences goes unexplained. But Nāgavarma rightly points out that *aucitya* or propriety is the underlying principle of all literary usage of words. He regards *artha* again in aesthetic terms by characterising it as *āhlādakāri* in so many words. His addition that *artha* is *avabhāsarūpa* hints at his new philosophy of poetry comparable with the theory of *vaiyākaraṇas* that *pratibhā* is *vākyārtha*. (The word '*arthāntara*' in the verse cited above does not mean 'another meaning'; it means 'one single meaning' like the word '*śabdāntara*' used in his definition of śabdaśleṣa). There is absolutely no trace of Nāgavarma's familiarity with Navya *ālankārikas*. Hence his ideas become doubly important. He does not refer to *dhvani*.

Another outstanding contribution of Nāgavarma to Indian poetics is his characterisation of *rīti* as the śarīra (body) of poetry and *rasa* as the *jīva* or its life-breath. He adds significantly that though there may be no *alaṅkāras* praised so highly that by the learned, the infusion of *rītis* and profusion of *rasas* will make a composition very enjoyable :

Rīti vinūtavastukṛtigoppuva mai rasabhāvavṛtti ni
Rṇītiye jīvamantadarinanvitanappa kaḷisvaram budha
Vrātamoradu biḍcalisi naccuvalankṛti kūḍadirdnḍaṁ
Rītivolonde pelvudurasiṁ biḍe baddhura
Kāvyabandhamaṁ

This is indeed a new synthesis brought about for the first time between *riti* and *rasa* even in the absence of a know-ledge of *dhvani*.

IV

We might now turn to Jaina writers on Sanskrit poetics. These have been discussed in detail by mo-

dern scholars and do not therefore need any introduction. The first place among these is reserved for Hemacandra, whose *Kāvyanuśāsana*, with his own commentary is noteworthy for more reasons than one. Though modelled after the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, his brilliant text-book covers all the toyics of poetics thoroughgoingly. This is the first book to include dramatic theory in its perview and set an example to later writers like Viśvanátha and Vidyánátha Hemacandra has also often quoted *in extenso* from old works which are now lost, like Bhaṭṭaauta's *Kāvyakautuka* and Lollata's commentary of *Nāṭvaśāstra*. Sometimes he gives references to sources not available to us elsewhere. For example, the verse, "*Lāvanyadravinavyayo*" is cited by Anandavardhana as a most likely composition of Dharmakìrti. Even Abhinavagupta dose not explain in his *Locana* regarding the exact work of Dharmakìriti in question. But Hemacandra tells us that it is from the concluding portion of *Viniṣcayavṛtti* by Dharmakirti

Tathā cāyam viniścayavaṛttyante
Dharmakīrtāyacharysya śloka iti prasiddhiḥ
(VI. under Anyokti)

In his treatment of alankaras as well as dhvani he cites often new examples not found in Mammaṭa and Ānandavardhana.

The next Jaina writer deserving our notice is Vägbhata I (12th century A. D.) He follows in the main the older tradition of poetics, and brings about a synthesis like Nàgavarma between all the well known concepts viz. *guṇa*, *alakāra*, *riti* and *rasa*. His whole book is written in verse like the *Kāvyadarśa* and often the first line of his *śloka* forms the definition and the second line, its

illustration. It was so famous as a convenient text-book that Mallinátha in his commentry over *Raghuvaṁśa* etc. has often referred to him. One speciality of the book is, however, the lengthy treatment of *Kaviśikṣā*.

Vāgbhata II hailing from Mewar (also 12th century A. D.) has also called his work by the name *Kāvyanuśāsan*. But this work is a very short one when compared with Hemacandra's. It deals at lenght with *Kavisamayas* and *Kaviśikṣā* exercises. One most interesting feature of the book is his illustrations of *Kāvyadoṣas*, all taken from popular *Mahakavis*. "*Dilīpa iti rājendudr induskṣīranidhāviva*" (Raghuvaṁśa) illustrates the defect *punarukta* "*Mâtsaryamutsārya vicārya.......*" (Bhartrhari) illustrates *sandigdha*. He is aware of Ānandavardhana and refers to him for details about *dhvani*; yet he brings under *paryāyokta* all the varieties of *vastudhavani*. He even gives some examples not found in any other work, on *dhvani*. Its brevity is its chief merit.

The *Kāvyakalpalatāvṛtti* by Arisimha (14th century A. D.) is as out and out work on *Kaviśikṣá* dealıng with Sanskrit poetic composition as a mechanical craft which could be taught. Its four chapters are devoted to topics of *chandassidhhi śabadasiddhi, śleṣasiddhi* and *arthasiddhi*. We get interesting details here of the tuition offered; e. g. (1) practice of *Indravajrā* metre with one syllables.

Kākā kakākā kakakā kakākā
Kīkī kikīkı kikikī kikikı kikiki
kūkū kukūkū kukukū kukūkū
Kaṁkaṁ kakaṁkāṁ kakakaṁ kakaṁkāṁ" (1. 2.)

(2) a specimen of *samasyāpūraṇā*

Kastūrī jāyate kasmát

Ko hanti kariṇām kulaṁ

Kiṁ kuryaāt kātarc yuddhe

Mṛgāt simhaḥ palāyate

The *Alaṅkara-mahodadhi* of Maladhari Narendraprabha produced in the court of Vastupala is a comprehensive text-book on all aspects of Sanskrit poetics with copious standard illustrations. He sometimes adds to the varieties of well known concepts. For example, he gives for the first time the following new sub-varieties of *vṛttvanuprasa:—Karāāṭī, Kauntalī, Kaungī, Kaunkanit Vānavāsikā, Trāvaṇī, Māthurī, Matsī,* and *Magadhi.*

The *Nātyadarpaṇa* by Rámacandra and Guṇacandra is a standard work of dramaturgy. It gives a novel view of rasa that it is *sukha-duṇkhātmaka* and controverts the usual thesis that all *rasa* including *karuṇa* are *ānandātmak.*

The *Alaṅkāracintāmaṇi* by Ajitasena (15th century A. D.) is a late work from an author hailing from South Kanara district of the present Mysore State. It is influenced very much by the *Prataparudrīya* of Vidyánátha. Like the Prataparudriya, all its examples are in praise of Bharata-cakravarti. It abounds in details relating to *citra-kāvya* varieties.

For further Jaina writers on Sanskrit poetics I should refer the interested scholars to a very informative article in Hindi by Pandit Amrutlal Shastri on Jaina Aḷankara Sahitya published in the Acharya Bhikhu

Smriti Grantha, Jaina Shvetambara Terpanthi Mahasabha, Calcutta, 1961, Vol. pp. 199 ff.

V

It will be seen even from the above brief survey how the Jaina contribution to Indian poetics is substantial qualitatively as well as quantitatively. They have not merely given compilations of earlier material. They have also added their own thoughts. It is only in this field that the Jaina contribution has succeeded in trascending the narrow boundaries of religion and becoming the common property of Indians at large.

KAVI UŚANĀ IN VEDA AND AVESTA

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Of all the mythological and legendary personages common to both the Veda and Avesta, like *Yamarāja* (Av. *Yimś Xcaeto*, Pah. and Shāh. *Jamshīd*), *Trita* (Av. *θrita*), *Āptya* (Av. *Āθwya*, Pah. *Āspiyān*, Shāh. *Ābtīn*), *Traitāna* C Av. *Oraetaona*, Pah. and Shāh. *Farīdūn*) and others, special interest attaches to *kavi* (or *kāvya*) *Uśanā*,[1] who is comparable to Av. *kavi Usaδan*[2], due to the circumstance that though in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, he is a mythological sage, representing Agni and Soma, in the later Vedic literature he is mentioned as a messenger, priest and the preceptor of Asuras i.e. the demons. This inversion at the first sight would seem to support the theory of Indo-Iranian religious Schism propounded by Martin Haug[3] and Hillebrandt[4] has actually taken it in that light. But after the close and searching exmination of the theory by Pt. Kshetreśachandra

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1. In the later literature the form of the word is *uśanas*. The nom-sing. *Uśanā* is explained by Pāṇini (VII. 1. 94) by substituting-*anaṅ* in place of the final-as. Wackernagel takes the stem as **uśanan* (*Altindische Grammatik*, III, p. 285), which of course comes closer to the Avestic *usaδan*.

2. The word in Avesta often occurs as *Kavi Usa*, which has changed in Pahlavi to *kai Us* and also to *kai kāus*.

3. *Essays on the Religion af the Parsees*, pp. 267-295.

4. *Vedische Mythologie*, III, 430 ff.

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Chaṭṭopādhyāya[5], it stands wholly rejected. Still the problem of the inversion of Uśanā remains to be explained. An attempt has been made in the following lines to find a plausible solution to this problem by a fresh examination of the material available in the Vedic and Avestic traditions regarding Kavi Uśanā.

The name Uśanā occurs seventeen times in RV, eleven times alone (I. 51.10 ; 130.9 ; IV. 16.2 ; V. 29.9 ; 31.8 ; 34.2 ; VIII. 7.24 ; IX. 87.3 ; 97.7 ; X. 22.6 ; 40.7), once with the epithet *kavi* (IV. 26.1) and five times with the appelation *kāvyá*[6] (I. 51.11 ; 83.5, 121.12 ; VI. 20.11 ; VIII. 23.17). It is interesting to note that *kāvyá* (oxytone) occurs only seven times in RV, five times with Uśanā as noted above and twice without uśanā (I. 117.12 ; VIII 8.11). In VIII. 8.11 it has the epithet *kaviḥ* ('vatso vām madhumad vaco' śaṁsīt kāvyaḥ kaviḥ'), which makes it certain, as Besgaigne[7] has pointed out, that it is used here as a proper noun. In I. 117.12 also it seems to be a proper noun ('kuha yāntā suṣṭutim kāvyasya divo napātā vṛṣaṇā śayutrā).

5. "Martin Hang's theory of Indo-Iranian Religions Schism", *Journal of the K. R. Kama Oriental Instiiute*, Bombay, Vol. XXXI, 1937.

6. *Kāvya-*, as an epithet of uśanā, was later on understood to be a patronym meaning 'son of kavi' and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, (I. 166) first of all, mentions Kavi Bhārgava as the father of uśanā. Kātyayana's *Sarvānukramaṇī* ascribes RV IX. 47-49, 75-79 to kavi Bhārgava. But Kavi Bhārgava is not mentioned in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhita* and such a late work as the *Amarakośa* mentions *kavi* as a synonym of *uśanā*. Therefore, it is here safer to take Kāvya as meaning 'one having wisdom'.

7. *La religion Vedique* (Vedic Religion) Vol. II, Eng. translation by V. G. Paranjpe, p. 350.

Seeing that *kāvyá* as an epithet is used only with *Uśanā* it is most likely that in these two instances also the proper noun *kāvyá* stands for *Uśanā*. Taking these two with the seventeen references noted earlier, we have in all nineteen references of Uśanā in the RV and putting these together, we get the following information about *Uśanā* in the *Ṛgvedic* tradition.

Uśanā kāvya is said to have installed Agni as a Hotā for Manu (VIII. 23.17). He is mentioned with the ancient sage Atharvan in I. 83.5, where it is said that Atharvan first laid the paths (for the sun) by sacrifices and Uśanā kāvya drove the kine hither, that is to say, brought the rays of the sun to earth. In IV. 16.2 *vedhas* is said to utter a laud like *Uśanā* ('śaṁsāty uktham uśaneva vedhaḥ') and *vedhas* here may mean Agni, as it is mostly used for Agni (cf. I. 60.2; 65.5; 69.2 ; III. 14.1 etc.). Soma is identified with Uśanā in IX. 87.3 ('ṛṣir vipraḥ puraetā Janānām ṛbhur dhīra uśanā kāvyena') and in IX. 97.7 Śoma is spoken of as uttering wisdom like Uśanā ('pra kāvyam uśaneva bruvāṇo devo devānām janimā vivakti). Uśana created the power of Indra (I. 51.10), fashioned his thunderbolt (I. 121.12) and gave him the weapon with thousand points (V. 34.2). This power, thunderbolt, a thousand-pointed weapon is nothing but Soma, as we know from IX. 74.3 ; 72.7 ; 77.1 ; 111.3 etc. that Soma is the thunderbolt of Indra. It is with Soma that Indra gladdens himself at the home of Uśanā (I. 51.11) and this appears the reason why Uśanā is not only described as closely associated with Indra (I. 130.9 ; V. 29.9 ; 31.8 VI. 20.11 ; X 22.6) but is also identified with him (IV. 26.1). Further Usanā is mentioned with the Aśvins, as praising them.

(I. 117.12 ; VIII 8.11) and as being protected by them (X. 40.7). This connection with the Aśvins is superficial and Uśanā's intimate relation is only with Agni and Soma and through Soma with Indra. So we can safely conclude from the foregoing account of Uśanā that in the RV he is an ancient sacrificer representing that aspest of Agni which is intimately connected with Soma.[8]

The *Atharvaveda-Saṁhitā* affords no information of importance about Uśanā. It simply relates that, together with all the prominent seers, Uśanā is also protected by Mitrāvarunau (4.29.6). The *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* for the first time mentions Uśanā as the messenger of the Asuras. Explaining the significance of RV I. 12.1 as a *Sāmidhenī*, it relates an anecdote that Agni was the messanger of the gods and Uśanā kāvya of the Asuras. They went to question Prajāpati, who turned away (from uśanā with the words) 'Agni as messanger we choose' (TS II. 5.8.5). Later on the anecdote is repeated somewhat differently by replacing Uśanā with the word 'daivya'—'Agni was the messenger of the the Devas and Daivya of the Asuras' (TS II. 5.11.8). In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Saharakshas* is the messenger of the Asuras; 'Agni acted as messenger for the gods and an Asura-Rakshas named Saharakshas for the Asuras' (Śat. Brāh. I. 4.1.34 ; III. 5.1.21). Putting these three statements together we get the equation uśanā=Daivya=Saharakshas. We know from the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* that Agni has three forms; *Havyavāhana* of the gods, *Kavyavāhana* of the pitṛs and *Saharakshas* of the

8. Agni is intimately connected with Soma in the RV. Agni is Somagopā (X. 45. 5, 12) and is coupled with Soma in I. 93.

Asuras (TS II. 5.8.6). The word *'Daivya'* in the above context can only be understood as 'belonging to the Daivas i.e. Asuras' and not as a matronym meaning 'son of Divyā, as understood by some of the Purāṇas. How the Daivas i.e. 'the attendants of gods or the lesser gods' acquired the sense of 'Asuras', is very well explained by Pt. K. Chaṭṭopādhāya as follows: "In this connection, I may cite an interesting passage in the *'Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa'* XVII. 1.1 devā vai svargaṁ lokamāyan, teṣāṁ daivā ahīyanta ("the devas attained to heaven and the 'daivas' were displaced from their presence") where the 'daivas' (='belonging to or coming from 'devas' i.e. 'deva-yonayaḥ') a lower kind of gods, are distinguished from the 'devas', the true or higher gods. One would also think of *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* V. 40.5 and X. 131.4, where the demons Svarbhānu and Namuci are called 'āsura', a derivative of 'asura', formed exactly in the same way as 'daiva', of the *Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* from 'deva', "lesser gods" would be thus 'being connected with 'devas' or 'asuras', but not exactly 'devas' or 'asuras' themselves'. Transition from that to the sense of 'demon' is an easy step."[9] Thus in the later Vedic literature Uśanā has come to represent the Saharakshas form of Agni, that is to say, that aspect of Agni which is connected with the Asuras.

Now, let us see how kavi Usa (or Usaδan) fares in the Avestic tradition. We have only stray references to kavi Usa in the Yasts of the Avesta and our information about this mythical personage in the Avestic tradition is much supplemented by the later Pahlavi

9. *op. cit.*, p. 220.

works. Kavi Usa belongs to the line of kavis founded by kavi kavāta. Eight kavis are enumerated in the *Zamyād Yast* (71-74) in the following order—Kavi Kavāta, Kavi Aipivohu, Kavi Usaδa, Kavi Arshan, Kavi Pisina, Kavi Byārshan, Kavi Syāvarshan and Kavi Husrava. Kavi Usaδa (or Usa) is the son of Kavi Aipivohu (*Bundahishn* Ch. XXXI. 25). The glory of the kavis is hailed with Ātar i.e. 'Fire-god' in the *Ātar Nyāis*, 5 etc. which hints at the close relation of the kavis with the Fire-cult in Iran. The *Fravashi*[10] of kavi Usaδan is adored in *Farvardīn Yast* 132. It is related in the *Ābān Yast* (45—47) that kavi Usa offered sacrifice to Ardvī Sūra Anāhita, the goddess of waters and begged of her a boon that he 'may become the sovereign lord of all countries of the Daevas and men, of the Yātus and Pairikas, of the oppressors, the kavis and the karapans' and the boon was granted, and kavi Usa became the ruler of the seven regions of earth. But, we learn from the Pahlavi works that he was not satisfied with this, and desired to conquer Heaven. He flew into heaven with his troops but was smitten down.[11]

The flying of kavi Usa to heaven is hinted at in the *Bahrām Yast* 39 where it is said that the great bird Vārēñjina carried the chariot of kavi Usa (to heaven). Further more, in the same Yast, we are told that

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10. *Fravashi* is the 'name of the immortal element in man, which existed before his birth and survives him. The whole of the *Fravaśay* is to be compared with the *pitaraḥ* of the Brāhmaṇas' Hans Reichelt, '*Avesta Reader*', p. 245 under *Fravaśay*.

11. See *Bundahish* XXXIV. 7, *Din Kard*, Book IX, ch. 22, 4-9 etc.

Verethraghna (Vedic Vṛtrahan) is like that great bird, the Saēna (*Bahman Yast* 41). It is not clear from the Yast whether this Saeya (=Vedic Śyena) is the same as Vareñjina referred to above. But the contiguity of these two names of a great bird makes it likely that Vareñjina is a Synonym of saena and if this conjecture is granted, we can possibly have a faint glimpse of the Vedic myth of the Śyena flying to heaven[12] to bring the Soma in the flying of kavi Usa to heaven on the back of the bird Vārenjina (i.e. Saena), though in a very distorted form. This will connect kavi usa with the Soma-cult in Iran also.

It is said in the Pahlavi works that kavi Usa conceived of the desire to conquer heaven, because 'Aeshm' the demon of passion, and wrath seduced him to bring about his fall. Thus kavi Usa, though born immortal, was ultimately destroyed by the seduction of Aeshm (*Mainog-i-khirad*, Ch. VIII, 27-28; *Bundahish*, Ch. XXVIII, 15).

Thus, we see that in both the Vedic and the Avestic traditions, kavi Uśanā is intimately connected with the Agni-Soma cult, though the trace of this connection in the Avestic tradition is vague and that is what we can naturally expect because of the very late date of the Avestic Yasts and the Pahlavi works. But it is interesting to note that in the Avestic tradition kavi Usa is nowhere assigned to the Daeves i.e. the demons. Had it been so, it could have lent some support to the theory of Indo-Iranian religious Schism. But contrary to that, though kavi Usa is made to fall

12. Cf. RV. IV. 27.

down, his Fravashi is still adored in the *Avesta*, as noted above. In the Indian tradition also though kavi Uśanā has gone over to the Asuras as their priest and preceptor, his name still evokes adoration, as the lord declares in the *Bhagvadgītā* that 'of the kavis He is kavi Uśanā' ('kavīnām uśanā kaviḥ', Ch. 10, 37.)

This striking parallelism between the Vedic and the Avestic traditions regarding kavi Uśanā makes us suspect whether in the Vedic tradition too was it not due to Aeshm=Vedic eṣa, eṣaṇā 'passion' that kavi Uśanā was made to go over to the Asuras. Viewed from this angle, we find that the etymological meaning of Uśanā 'one having desires' was never lost sight of in the Vedic tradition. Thus it is said in the *Taṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa* (XIV. 12.5) that uśanā kāvya conceived a desire to acquire that whole rigion of the kāvyas and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 127) remarks that Uśanā kāvya desired for the region of Gandharvas. As the Asuras are said to be the sons of Prajāpati[13] like the gods and as they also sacrified, though they never understood the right form of the Sacrifice,[14] some representative of Agni had to be made over to them and at this juncture Uśanā with its etymological sense of 'having desires' which could easily be depreciated into 'having selfish or evil desires, having passions' may have been looked upon as the fittest representative of Agni to fill this post. Thus this kāma-aspect reflected in the personality of kavi Uśanā, peeping through his very name, seems to my mind a plausible explanation of the inversion.

13. ***Śatapatha Brāh.*** **XI. 1. 6. 8-9 etc.**
14. ***Ibid*, XI. 2.1.1. etc.**

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE EARLY TEMPLE OF TONDAIMANDALAM*

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Two major problems are dealt with in this paper. One of them is the question of the God-king relationship expressed in the art of the Pallavas. The other problem is the question of whether there was liṅga worship in the early Pallava Saivite temples.

These two problems are actually interrelated, and I have tried to draw upon the evidence in one field for enlightenment in the other.

1. Pallava Liṅga Worship

Mr. K. R. Srinivasan in his *Sankara Parvati Endowment Lectures,* 1959-60, advanced the following thesis :

> . . . the sanctums in the early Pallava cave temples dating upto 730 A.D. in Tondaimandalam and dedicated to Śiva were devoid of a *'liṅga'* of Pallava origin. Even in the structural temples of Rajasimha with the Somaskanda relief on the hind wall of the sanctum, forming the primary object of worship, the installation of the *'liṅgas'* was an afterthought, as the *in situ* evidences would indicate.[1]

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*Based on a paper read at a seminar held by the Archaeological Society of South India, October 14, 1973.

1. K.R. Srinivasan's *Lectures,* published as *Some Aspects of Religion as Revealed by Early Monuments and Literature of the South* (Madras : University of Madras, 1960), p. 61.

The evidence put forward in the above lectures was developed and augmented by Mr. K.V. Soundara Rajan in his 1964 paper, "Cult' in the Pallava Temples."[2] In this paper he points out that during the Mahendra, Mahamalla, and Paramesvara reigns :

There was no provision for any '*liṅga*' to be fixed in the centre of the shrine chamber. . .[3]

And a little later in the same paper :

Although '*liṅgas*' are found in most of the temples of Rajasimha, as we see them today, there are strong grounds in favour of their being later insertions.

Some of these arguments are based on the observations that the arrangements for *abhiṣeka* in early Pallava temples follow no rational plan and betray a make-shift workmanship, crude improvisation—a crudeness which is not in keeping with the care and precision shown in the plan and the construction of the temples themselves.

The *abhiṣeka* arrangements which appear crude are as follows. First, the channel on the floor for removing the *abhiṣeka* water is often crudely cut, and the spout on the outside appears improvised—and in some cases was not even provided. Secondly, some of the liṅga pithas are oversize for the sanctum and have therefore required assembly in parts. Thirdly, in the Saivite cave-temples of the early period which have liṅgas, these

2. K.V. Soundara Rajan, "Cult' in the Pallava Temples", *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India* : 1962-65 Madras : Archaeological Society of South India, 1969).

3. *Ibid.*, p. 144.

liṅgas are sometimes not truly centred in the cells. The "Cult" article concludes that the "use of regular pranala [spout, with properly oriented channel] came into ritual use by about the end of the eighth century A.D."[4]

Now, let us grant the contention of these two scholars that the present liṅgas and pīthas are later additions (on the basis of their sound observations). One can, nevertheless, still maintain the thesis that an earlier form of linga was the central object of worship in many of these very same early Saivite temples, especially those of Rajasimha.

For instance, the *abhiṣeka* ritual, itself, might have been only of a token nature, and therefore would not have required any channel or spout. If these original liṅgas were anything like the one pictured in the bas-relief panel of the *Airavatesvara* (Pallava) temple, Kanchi, this could have been the case. Such a liṅga has a square base with miniature rampant lion pilasters at its cornerns and an elaborately carved *padmabandha* on the liṅga's shaft. This liṅga has no apparent arrangement whatsoever for the *abhiseka* ritual as practiced today. Further, such a form of the liṅga (especially if it were carved out of a single block of stone) might not have required any special provision for being fixed in the centre of the shrine's chamber.

Or again, another possibility, in case there was *abhiṣeka* water flowing off these earlier type lingas, is that the *abhiṣeka* water was collected in a container

4. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

placed in the cella, itself, and therefore the channel and spout were not originally required.

But there is still another argument which has been used to back up the thesis that liṅgas represent a later development in the ritual of these temples. According to Mr. Soundara Rajan, some of the foundation inscriptions of these temples actually state explicitly that Śiva in the Somaskanda form was the main object of worship in many early Pallava Saivite temples. In his book, *Indian Temple Styles*, he says :

For Rajasimha's explicit reference to Somaskanda as the consecrated God in his temples, we must refer to the inseriptions found in the cave temple of his at Saluvankuppam near Mahabalipuram.[5]

The reference here is to the fifth śloka of the *Atiranachandesvara* inscription. This śloka may be translated as follows :

(King) Atiranachandra, the lord of the rulers of the earth, is the cause of the making of this temple (called) Atiranachandesvara. May Paśupati (Śiva), together with the "Daughter of the Mountain" (Uma), Guha (Skanda), and his retinue of gaṇas, always be happy here.

At face value, this passage would seem to support the claim that Somaskanda was indeed the consecrated object of worship in this cave-temple. And there is, in fact, a Somaskanda panel carved in bas-relief on the rear wall of its sanctum.

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5. K.V. Soundara Rajan, *Indian Temple Styles* New Delhi Munshiram Manoharlal, 1972), p. 105.

But the famous inscription of the Pallava king, Mahendra I, in his cave-temple, Tiruchirappalli, provides evidence for an alternate interpretation.

There is a much disputed passage in this inscription which has crucial significance for our study. It reads as follows :

Gunabhara nāmani rājany anēna liṅgēna lingini jnānam prathatan chirāya lōkē vipaksha vrittēn paravrittam.

Dr. E. Hultzsch, in the first volume (p. 29) of *South Indian Inscriptions* (1890), translated this passage as follows :

While the king called Gunabhara is a worshipper of the *linga*, let the knowledge which as turned back from hostile (*vipakṣa*) conduct, be spread for a long time in the world by this *liṅga* !

If this translation were to be accepted as a correct reading of the Sanskrit, it would naturally provide almost conclusive evidence that the liṅga was an object of worship in Mahendra's kingdom—and most probably in this Tiruchi cave-temple, itself.

But there is more than one way of interpreting the above passage. And at least two scholars have taken exception to Hultzsch's interpretation. In the *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas*, the author says of this cave-temple of Mahendra's :

The temple is called *Śilā-bhavan* ('the wonderful stone house') and the installed object is referred to as *sailītanu* (stone body or form), which seems to suggest a

stone image or *sakala liṅga* and not perhaps a symbol or *nishkala liṅga.*[6]

Thus on his interpretation, the consecrated object of worship which was placed in the shrine's chamber would have been an anthropomorphic image of Śiva and not a symbolic liṅga. The author then explains the use of the expression *'liṅgēna liṅgini'* in the inscription :

In the context of the preceding verses *liṅga* would denote only the entire work (excavation of the cave-temple and the installation therein [of the anthropomorphic form of Śiva as a separate piece] of the liṅgin viz. King Guṇabhara.[7]

In the article, "'Cult' in the Pallava Temples", the author gives the following comment on the Sanskrit passage under discussion :

To begin with, *'liṅga'* as well as *'liṅgin'* used by the royal author of the epigraph should at once put us wise about the *gūdhārtha* rather than the *vyakta* character of the nomenclature. If Mahendra meant a physical *liṅga*—the object of worship—he would have certainly been more explicit and less pedantic. That he did not imply the material *liṅga* is also borne out by the rest of the sentence, which also indulges in denominational jargon of *'vipakṣa vṛtti'* etc.[8]

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6. K.R. Srinivasan, *Cave-Temples of the Pallavas*, Architectural Survey of Temples Series, No. 1 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1964), p. 87.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

8. *Transactions* : 1962-65, p. 150.

Now I fully agree with these two authors when they claim that in the Tiruchi inscription the primary meaning of 'liṅga' refers to the anthropomorphic form of Śiva. But I must disagree with them in their assumption that the anthropomorphic image of Śiva referred to in the inscription was an image installed in the sanctum of the cave-temple, which image is now missing.

In a previous paper,[9] Mr. Vishnu Bhat and I have tried to establish three points vital to the proper interpretation of this Tiruchi inscription :

(1) the Sanskrit word '*nidhāya*' in this inscription does not mean 'placed' or 'installed', but rather 'created (*in situ*)'—and the anthropomorphic image of Śiva referred to by the inscription is therefore none other than Gaṅgādhara, carved on the living rock of the western wall of the maṇḍapam of the cave-temple ;

(2) the Gangadhara figure is, at one and the same time, both an anthropomorphic image of Śiva as well as a portrait of king Mahendra ; and

(3) the title "Daughter of the Mountain" refers to Gaṅgā, who is depicted anthropomorphically in the Gaṅgādhara panel, and does not refer to Pārvatī (supposedly an installed figure which is now missing).

On our interpretation, the *entire* inscription (which is found on the two pilasters framing the Gaṅgādhara panel) refers in its primary meaning to the contents and

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9. Pallava Gaṅgādhara", by M. Lockwood and A. Vishnu Bhat, *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth*, Vol. XXVII, Parts 3-4 (July-October, 1972), pp. 159-166.

figures of this panel. It is therefore incorrect to imagine that two or three separate figures (Śiva, Pārvatī, and perhaps even one of king Mahendra—all of them now supposedly missing) were brought from somewhere and installed in the cave-temple by a king Mahendra.

The significance of our interpretation is this : the words '*anēna liṅgēna liṅgini*' do refer in their primary meaning to the anthropomorphic form of Śiva—specifically to Śiva in the Gaṅgādhara panel. But the expression '*liṅgēna liṅgini*' is an unusual one, to say the least, and the poet must surely be punning here. Thus the secondary meaning of '*liṅgēna liṅgini*' should be understood in the sense in which Hultzsch has translated it : that king Gunabhara (Mahendra) was a worshipper of the liṅga (the aniconic form of Śiva).

That the poet is punning here is quite in keeping with the general style of this inscription. For instance, in the very first śloka he puns repeatedly on the word '*sthāṇu*'.[10]

The outcome of this line of reasoning is the conclusion that Mahendra's inscription definitely refers (though in its secondary meaning) to liṅga worship.

Our[11] translation of the disputed passage, giving its primary meaning, is as follows :

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10. This śloka reads : When King Guṇabhara (Mahendra) carved a stone figure (Gaṅgādhara) in the wonderful stone temple on top of the most splendid of mountains, this king, entitled "Vidhī" (the Creator), made "*Sthāṇu*" (Śiva) true to its meaning (stationary), and became himself "sthāṇu" (fixed immortal) together with him (Śiva) before the eyes of the world."

11. I am indebted to Mr. A. Vishnu Bhat and his brother Mr. Subraya Bhat, for their aid in all matters Sanskrit.

As the king called Guṇabhara has (assumed in this manner) the form (of Śiva), let this form (the figure of Gaṅgādhara, together with its great fame) forever spread throughout the world the faith which has turned its back on hostile conduct (towards the truth of Śaivism) :

The same passage, giving its secondary meaning, would be :

As the king called Guṇabhara is a worshipper of the liṅga, let this liṅga forever spread throughout the world the faith which has turned its back on hostile conduct (towards the truth of Śaivism) :

Now let us return to the claim, in the book, *Indian Temple Styles* (p. 105), that a Pallava king made explicit reference to Somaskanda (and not the liṅga) as the consecrated God in his Saluvankuppam cave-temple. It seems to me that the Tiruchi inscription of Mahendra provides grounds for an alternate interpretation—which could challenge the above claim.

The Tiruchi inscription repeatedly declares that King Mahendra made the cave-temple there for Śiva. And throughout the inscription the *explicit* reference to the God is *only to his anthropomorphic form* ! Take for example the following śloka :

When Hara (Śiva) politely asked him (the king) : "How could I, while remaining in a temple on earth, see the great land of the Cholas or the river Kāverī ?", king Guṇabhara (Mahendra) whose empire rivals the empire of Manu, assigned to him (Śiva) this mountain-temple which kisses the clouds.

F. 41

And yet we have seen that the anthropomorphic form of Śiva referred to by the inscription was not any consecrated image installed in the sanctum, but rather the figure of Gaṅgādhara in the panel carved on the wall opposite the shrine's chamber.

Further, we have seen that the secondary meaning of the words '*liṅgena liṅginii*' is that King Mahendra worshipped the liṅga, and thus the liṅga should have actually been the consecrated form of Śiva worshipped in the sanctum of this particular cave-temple.

We may conclude, on this interpretation, that God was One for the poet, whether in the anthropomorphic form of Śiva Gaṅgādhara, or the form of the consecrated liṅga, or the Spirit indwelling in the king's consciousness—God immanent. That the poet chose to speak *explicitly* of Śiva in the anthropomorphic form rather than in the form of the symbolic liṅga, should not surprise us. The magnificent panel of Gaṅgādhara, which was also a portrait in stone of king Mahendra, was there for all to gaze upon and admire.

2. Image of Deity and King

The Tiruchi Gaṅgādhara is the earliest known example in India where the artist has combined in one anthropomorphic figure both an image of a deity as well as a royal portrait. Was this artistic synthesis of the divine with the human continued in the art of the Pallavas ? I suggest that the Somaskanda image represents just such a combination. Only, that in the Somaskanda panels there are three figures which represent both divine beings as well as royal persons. A well

known inscription of the Kailasanatha temple, Kanchipuram, outlines such a parallelism in poetic language :

Just as Guha (also called Subrahmaṇya or Kumara) took birth from the Supreme Lord (Śiva), the destroyer of the warlike (demon) Pura, thus from the supreme lord Ugradanda (king Parameśvara I), who was born in the race of these (viz., the Pallavas), the destroyer of the city of Ranarasika, there took birth a very pious prince (subrahmanyakumarah), the illustrious Atyantakama (i.e., king Rajasimha), the chief of the Pallavas . . .[12]

In this śloka, King Rajasimha and his royal father (King Parameśvara I) are compared to the divine Skanda and his father, Lord Parameśvara (Śiva). It is significant that the Somaskanda panel (showing Śiva, his consort Uma, and their infant son Skanda, all seated on a royal throne) is repeated more than 28 times in the Kailasanatha temple built by king Rajasimha.

The same comparison between kings and gods is drawn in the Panamalai inscription of king Rajasimha :

From the lord Ekamalla (King Parameśvara I) . . . was born, like Guha (i.e., Skanda) from the great Īśvara (Siva), he . . . who was well known as king Rajasimha......[13]

Or, again, to return to the Kailasanatha temple, Kanchi, there is the famous "Rangapataka" inscriptions which likens the queen Rangapatka to Uma (Pārvatī)

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12. The full inscription and translation are given by Hultzsch in *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, pp. 12-14.

13. See *Epigraphica Indica*, XIX, pp. 113-115.

and compares her husband, the King, to Parmeśvara (śiva) :

(She) who (was) the dearly beloved wife of (her) husband, (king) Paramesvara, whose fame was widespread (under the title) "Kalakala" on account of his meritorious deeds, and whose bow's power was made manifest in the destruction of cities, just as (Parvati or Uma) the "Daughter of the Mountain" was of (Śiva) the "Bull-Bannered One", (l. e., the dearly beloved of Paramesvara the Supreme Lord, whose fame was widespread as Kalakala the Destroyer of Death, and whose power was made manifest in the destruction of cities— as (Tripurantaka), that (queen) Rangapataka......was the cause of this beautiful temple being built.......

Scholars have unanimously believed queen Rangapataka to be the wife of king Rajasimha. But this is not so. Rangapataka was the wife of King Paramesvara I, the father of Rajasimha.

Scholars have followed Hultzsch in this matter, but Hultzsch was misled in his own translation of the 'Rangapataka" inscription wnen he mixed up the verses found on the front and back of the little shrine. There are two lines of verse on the front of the shrine (one below the others), and one line on the rear of the shrine.

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14. The full translations of the "Rangapataka" inscription is glven in Appendix A.

15. *South India Inscriptions*, I. pp. 23-24.

16. It is very unfortunate that the lower line of the verse in the front (inscribed on the sandstone base) has been covered by plaster in recent times. Thus, it may be lost permanently to posterity. This is doublv tragic in that the facsimile of that "Rangapataka inscription has never been published, as far as I know.

Hultzsch has taken the single verse at the back of the shrine and wrongly sandwiched it between the first (upper) line and the second (lower) line which are inscribed on the front af the shrine.

The proper order, however, is to read the two front verses together, and read the verse on the back separately.

Once the proper order of verses is established, then it is easy to note that the two lines of verse on the front of the shrine are definitely cast in the *past* tense, whereas the single line of verse inscribed on the back of the shrine is just as definitely put in the *present* tense. It is positively incorrect grammar to mix them up !

The two lines of verse on the front refer to the deceased king, Paramesvara I and to his surviving queen, the widow, Rangapataka. Naturally, the past tense is suitable.

The single line of verse in the rear refers to the then reigning king, Narasimhavishnu (Rajasimha), and to his chief queen (who is unnamed). Naturally, the present tense is suitable : (While King) Narasimhavishnu true to his holy vow, is protecting the encircling world, (and) tearing out the hearts of his enemies (just as the god Narasimhavisnu did), his favourite queen shines with surpassing splendour, subduing, as it were, (even) the pride of Pushkāradevata (i. e.) Lakshmi, the consort of god Narasimhavishnu).

On the inner back wall of the sanctum of the "Rangapataka" shrine is a stone bas-relief Somaskanda

panel. We may conclude from our analysis above of the two lines of verse on the front of this shrine that the comparison between gods and royal persons is maintained :

King Paramesvara I = Parameśvara (Śiva)
Queen Rangapataka = Uma (or Parvati)

This comparison fits in with the other two inscriptions already mentioned which made the following comparison :

King Paramesvara I = Parameśvara (Isvara or Śiva)
King Rajasimha = Guha (Skanda)

APPENDIX A

"RANGAPATAKA SHRINE INSCRIPTION"

On the front of the shrine :

Line 1 : adoration to Śiva :

(She), who (was) the dearly beloved wife of (her) husband, (king) Paramesvara, whose fame was widespread as "Kalakala" on account of his meritorious deeds, and whose bow's power was made manifest in the destruction of cities, just as (Pārvatī) the "Daughter of the Mountain" was of (Śiva) the "Bull-Bannered One",[17] (i. e., the dearly beloved of Paramesvara—the Supreme Lord, whose fame was widespread as Kalakala—the Destroyer of Death, and whose power was made manifest in the destruction of cities - as Tripurāntaka), I Line 2 : that (queen) Rangapataka, the

17. The bull was the enblem of the Pallava banner, and thus this title is appropriate to king Paramesvara also.

baner of women, 18 was the cause of this beautiful abode being made for (Śiva) the one whose crest-jowel is the crescent moon.

On the back of the shrine :

(While king) Narasimhavisnu, true to his holy vow, is protecting the encircling world, (and) tearing out the hearts of his enemies (just as the god Narasimhavisnu did), his favourite queen shines with surpassing splendour, subduing, as it were, (even) the pride of Pushkaradevata (i. e., Lakshmi, thc consort of god Narasimhavisnu) 19

Front ; first line

नमश्शिवाय [॥]
भर्त्तृ: पुरन्मथनदृष्टधनुर्ब्बलस्य शैलाधिराजतनयेववृषध्वजस्य [।]
या कालकाल इति विश्रुतपुण्यकीर्त्तेः कान्ता नितान्तदयिता
परमेश्वरस्य ॥ [२]

Front second line

निर्म्मापितमिदन्धाम तया चन्द्र [शिखा]मणेः ।
पता[कयेव] नारीणां रम्यं रंगपताकया ॥[३]

Back

देवे जगद्वलयरक्षणबद्धदीक्षे निर्भिन्नशत्रुहृदये नरसिंहविष्णौ [॥]
वाल्लभ्यमूर्ज्जितमवाप्य विराजते या निर्ज्जित्य गर्व्वमिव
पुष्करदेवतायाः ॥ [२]

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18. This expression is a pun on the queen's name, Rangapataka.

19. In another inscription, on the main temple, king Narasimha (Rajasimha) is praised as one who is both the "storehouse of prosperity" (Sribhara) and deeply learned (in Saiva siddhanta). His chief queen consort would thus excell Lakshmi (who is traditionally at odds with the qualities of learning) in this manner.

KĀLIDĀSA ON SOME AESTHETIC PROBLEMS

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Sanskrit Poetics has all through emphasised the fact the essence of aesthetic experience is delight, especially so in the case of drama and poetry. The theorists from early times constantly speak of the *ālaukika ānanda*, its *niratiśayasukhasvarūpa*, and the like. The experience of rasa is, as the phrase goes, *brahmāsvāda-sahodara*, akin to the delight to be had in the mystical experience of the highest Reality, the Brahman. It is possibly Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka who introduced this idea of the philosophical delight in these discussions in his verse.

"*Vāgdhenurdugdha etam hi rasam yadbālatṛṣṇayā*
tena nāsya samaḥ sa syādduhyate yogibhirhi yaḥ

Which Abhinavagupta quotes in his *Locana* under 1. 6. Abhinavagupta and thereafter almost all, used the word *ānanda* in its philosophical aspects. There is a certain religious tinge about this word *ānanda*, bliss, which all these writers use.

Kālidāsa undoubtedly knew Bharata as his celebrated verse in the *Vikramorvaśīyam* (II. 18) shows. He speaks of the eight rasas as spoken of by the Muni in his '*aṣṭarasātmakaḥ prayogaḥ*'. Thus, he was familiar with the rasa theory of Bharata and of the importance of the rasa in a drama, and in poetry. It could be assu-

med that he followed the advice of Bharata in many respects. In fact, in many places, he not only echoes Bharata but possibly goes a step ahead of him in his glorification of the drama. Thus, like Bharata, he too thinks that the drama seeks to entertain at one and the same time, men of different tastes. for he observes, *naṭyām bhinnaruceḥ janasya bahudhā api ekam samārādhanam*' but it is noteworthy that he speaks of the drama as a divine institution with a glorious visual appeal, as is clar from his '*devānāmidamāmananti munayah krāntam kratum cākṣuṣam*' in his *Mālavikāgnimitram*. In his *Kumārasaṁbhavam* VII. 91 and 95, also he appears to have Bharata's discussions (6, 21, 22 Chs) before him. That Kālidāsa knew the views of Bharata needs, as a matter of fact, no further proof.

But the point that I would like to make out here is that in the context of the aesthetic experience, however, Kālidāsa is seen setting forth an original view of his own, or in any case, a view which is not much discussed or referred to in the works on rhetorics, I am referring here to the verse from the *Śākuntala*, (V. 2). Kālidāsa makes Dusyanta who has listened to an exquisite song from queen Hamsapadikā, say

Ramyāṇi vīkṣya madhurānṣca niśamya śabdān
Paryutsukhībhavati yatsukhitopi jantuḥ
tat-cetasa smarati nūnam abodhapūrvam
bhāvasthirāṇi jananāntarasauhṛudāni ।। V. 2

Kālidāsa here observes that of a sight the Beautiful or an experience of hearing an exquisiite song or words, which refer to poetry as well as music, leaves even a happy

man somewhat pleasantly disturbed, sad, and full of longing. He seems to remember something unconsciously, his friendship with the spirit or the geni of Beauty which has been keeping company with him in his different existences.

Now this is, so far as I can see, a really altogether different view about the nature and effect of an aesthetic experience as well as its explanation. Abhinavagupta was to say later, that the sthāyibhāvas are the latent moods of all and everyone, and so there always a fitting response to them when they appear in a work of art. But Abhinavagupta was also to speak of the delight, of ānanda with a religious tinge and still later, Jagannātha was to speak of a *vigata-āvaraṇāddhī*, the self shining with ignorance gone and the like.

It is true that aesthetic experience is for every one and therefore, an explanation for this response has to be found out, in such a manner that it would be applicable to all the cases. Abhinavagupta, therefore, regarded the *thāyibhāvasanas* being present in every person who is born with them and is seen observing *'nahyetaccittavṛttsvāsanāśūnyaṇ prāṇī bhavati'* (A-Bh. p. 282) There exists no living being who is devoid of the latent impressions of these mental tastes. Kālidāsa too regards every person as having a friendship running through his different births.

Kālidasa very well knew that even grief and painful experiences of the past become when remembered later as pleasures, for he observes in his *Raghuvaṁśa* XIV, 25.

'Prāptāni duhkānyapi daṇḍakāyām saṁcintyamānāni sukhāni abhuvan' *RV. XIV.* 25.

An idea later utilised to advantage by Bhavabhūti in the first act of his *Uttarārāmacaritam*. Thus *smṛti* has some very remarkable power of converting pain once experienced, into a pleasure. But the *smṛti* that he speaks of in the verse *'ramyāṇi'* etc. is of a different type altogether even though the verb *'smarati'* is used. Kālidāsa has clearly said in this verse that an experience of the Beautiful is an act of memory, but it is not the ordinary memory that he is thinking of, Hemacandra (*Kāvyānuśāsana* II. 1 p. 99) is right when he observes that 'atra hi smarati iti ya smṛtiḥ upadarśitā sā na hi tārkikaprasiddhā pūrvam etasya arthasya ananubhūtatvāt, api tu pratibhānāparaparyāya-sākṣātkārasvabhāvā iyam iti.

What Hemacandra is conveying is that here we have an aesthetic experience described by Duṣyanta.

Abhinavagupta also refers to this verse in his discussion of Rasa. (A. Bh. p. 279-280, Vol. I). It may be that Abhinava reads in this verse as support for his theory of the latent vāsanās and of the experience of a general emotion in an aesthetic experience, but one feel that Abhinavagupta is ignoring some very important aspects clearly conveyed by Kālidāsa, as forming a part of the experience of Duṣyanta here observes that the vibhāvas call up to him some vague memories. One may doubt the correctness of taking the verse in this manner, for Kālidāsa makes Duṣyanta use the emphatic word *'nūnam'* and further what is remembered is not

something quite vague but a definite 'jananāntarasauhṛda with 'ramya' and 'madhura'. The only thing important in this context is that this smaraṇa is abodhapūrva, not a result of any conscious activity on the part of the agent but is something to which he is led by the *vīksaṇa* and the niśamana referred to in the words 'vīksya' and 'niṣamya'.

Nor is perhaps Raghavabhaṭṭa right when he reads this verse as an instance of the *sṛngāra* rasa. He wants the continuity of the sṛngāra rasa maintained, for a break in the development or delineation of the main emotion, would be a great flaw, so far as rasa is concerned, since he observes *'anyathā madhey vicchedāt mahān rasadoyṣḥ syāt'* and he further maintains that the continuity of the *sthāyi 'rati'* is preserved through the alaṅkara *aprastutap-raśamsā* employed by the poet. He remarks *atra apras-tutapraśaṁsa, tena sthāyinaḥ rateḥ avicchedaḥ dvannitaḥ* But this view of Rāghavabhaṭṭa needs to be understood perhaps in the context of the *'rati' sthāyibhāva* which is defined as *'ratiḥ devādiviṣayā'* for the *'ramaya'* objects that are seen and the 'madhura' words that are heard are to be taken as included in the word 'ādi' in the phrase *'devādi-viṣayā'* for there can be no question of here being any reference to love as such, as Duṣayanta is under the influence of the curse of Durvāsas.

The plain fact is that Duṣyanta has heard an exquisite song from his queen, and the charming song has awakened some strange longing in him, awakened some feeling of friendship that has been embedded, 'Sthira', in his latent impressions and which has been called forth in a sponteneous manner, without any conscious effort on his part.

In this manner, one feels tempted to conclude, that both Abhinavagupta and Rāghavabhaṭṭa are pressing the verse into the service of the particular views they hold. Read very plainly, the verse tells us of the experience of the Beautiful, Ramya, and the Sweet, Madhura, and further informs us that this experience makes a man '*paryutsuka*' and awakens the permanent tie that a being has with this principle that underlies both these attractive objects which give a glimpse of the Beautiful and the Sweet. I have my doubts whether *jananāntara-sauhṛda* could be correctly understood as 'pleasures one formerly had'. Again, Kālidāsa is thinking of a contrast between the present condition of the person and the condition after the perception of the Beautiful and the listening to the Sweet ; since he uses the word '*api*' in the phrase '*sukhito' pi jantuḥ*'. The person is happy and has therefore no apparent reason to be '*paryutsuka*' and yet he becomes '*paryutsuka*' Kālidāsa perhaps like Wordsworth later on, believed in a being's being linked with the glorious principle in Nature and that like 'trailing clouds of glory do we come, from God who is our home'. The perception of the Beautiful recalls to our minds this mysterious relation which is in our sub-conscious and hence it comes to the surface without any effort. The state of the perceiver's mind is therefore something different from one who has '*niratiśaya-sukhāsvāda*' of Abhinava, for in that case all the force of Kālidāsa's '*api*' would be lost. Kālidāsa thinks of some sadness in this experience.

Further Abhinavagupta gives a view which doubted perhaps the wisdom in having gods and semi-divine beings as characters, for in these cases, a sympathetic

response from the spectators is difficult. He observes *ata eva sahṛdaya-saṁvādópi devacarite durlabhaḥ, na ca teṣām dukhamasti, yatpratikāropāye vyutpādanam syāt nāyikā tu divyāpyavirodhini yathorvaśī nāyakacaritenaiva tadvṛttasyākṣepāt'/* (A.Bh.Vol.II, p. 412). In this respect Kalidasa appears to hold a different view altogether, if one is to consider his own practice· In the *Kumārasaṁbhavam* he has Śiva and Pārvati as the hero and the heroine, in the *Vikramorvaśīyam* he has Urvaśī, a divine women, as the heroine and in the *Meghadūtam* he has a Yakṣa and Yakṣī as the hero and the heroine. What really mattered, according to him, appears to be the possibility of creating something that is '*ramya*' and '*madhura*', that would make even a happy man '*paryutsuka*' and fill him with a strange longing. It is to be noted that even Ānandavardhana felt called upon to criticise midly the description of the love-making of Śiva and Pārvati in the charming eigth chapter of *Kumārasaṁbhavam* as *'tat pitroḥ saṁbhogavarṇanamiva* '(*Dhvanyōloka* p. 332) and as '*sutarām asabhyamam*' (p. 332) ; but he immediately added that it is the skill of the poet that makes this description readable· The point that I would like to make out here, is that Kālidasa, in all likelihood, held different views in these matters· He did not feel that in the '*devisaṁbhogavarṇana*' there was any '*grāmyatva*' and '*anaucitya*'· That it was '*kaviśaktitiraskṛta* is an explanation of a later age.

There is another point of interest. Later writers hold different views regarding the possibility of the actor, the naṭa, having the rasāsvāda, enjoyment of the rasa. Śankuka is seen raising the objection on the ground that if the rasa were to be in the naṭa or relished by him,

it would be difficult for him to follow the tempo, the laya, and also to concentrate on his duties. The tempo, laya is defined as *nṛttagītavādyānām ekatānatārūpam sāmyam* (BP. p. 144). But Kālidāsa seems to hold that it is possible, nay, it is the excellence on the part of a dancer, or an actor, to have the absorption in rasa, *tanmayatvam rasesu* ; for he is seen describing the dance of Mālavikā in the following words in the *Mālvikāgnimitram* II.8.

angaiḥ antarnihitavacanaiḥ sūcitaḥ samyagarthaḥ
pādanyāso layam anugataḥ tanmayatvam raseṣu/
śākhāyoniḥ mrdurabhinayaḥ tadvikalpānuvṛttau
bhāvo bhāvam nudati viṣayād rāgabandhaḥ sa eva//
II.18.

Thus Kālidāsa speaks of '*tanmayatvam rasesu*' inra the case of Mālavikā who is carrying on the abhinaya here.

I would therefore hazard the view that, so far as the aesthetic problems which Abhinavagupta and before him Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and others considered, especially about the content, locus and the number of the rasas, Kālidāsa held that in this aesthetic experience a being became suddenly conscious of his tie with the Beautiful and therefore was a bit uneasy being full of a strange longing ; secondly an actor could experience the rasa and that the rasas as taught by Bharata were only eight.

One may also doubt, from the fact that Kālidāsa has so often resorted to descriptions of Nature, rivers

and oceans, trees and mountains, both in his plays as well as the exquisite *Meghadūtam*, whether he ever subscribed to the doctrine of Rasābhāsa. He is seen to reveal in, what later theorists would call 'treating the inanimate as animate and also in what they perhaps would see *anaucitya*. It is easy to see that he did not consider these factors as destracting from the excellence of the emotion he desired to develop, nor as marring its reality and intensity. He was undoubtedly an ardent worshiper of the Beautiful and had a very keen eye for its perception both in the human world and the Nature surrounding it. All that he wrote is a clear testimony to this sure instinct of his, for the perception delineation and experience of the Beautiful. His views there fore on aesthetic problems have an interest and importtance all their own.

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GEMINATION OF CONSONANTS IN PALI

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Gemination of doubling of consonants has a considerable role to play in Pali. Association or sandhi—formations generally lead to such developments (cf. lag + na = laggs, pac + = ta pakkas etc.). Certain letters (y, b, v etc.) show an inherent tendency towards doubling, cf. seyya, Skt. Sreyas, bhiyyo, Skt. bhūyah etc. Due to graphic representations certain letters become double, pitunnaṃ, behunnaṃ etc. Nasals become double in certain cases—tiṇṇaṃ, chaṇṇaṃ, etc. To account for the nasals in Pali 'gelañña' (D. ii. 92) 'sickness, illness', is a difficult problem. The 0IA word 'glāna' should give rise to a svarabhakti—vowel and the form expected would be *'gilāna'.

A number of factors contribute to this phenomenon. In the following an attempt will be made to present such cases where Sandhi or assimilation, the normal case of doubling, is absent.

Arbitary doubling

anuddayā (J. i. 147) 'compassion, pity, care', cf. Skt. Anudayā; allāpa only in compound allāpa—sallāpa

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* A Paper presented in the 25th session (1969) of the All India Oriential Conference at Jadavapur, Calcutta. For the expansions of the abbreviations used, see at the end.

(J. i. 189) 'conversation, talk, lit. talking to and fro or together'; upassaṭṭha (J. 1.61) 'thrown upon, overcome', Skt. upasṛṣṭa, upa + √sṛj; jātassara (J. i. 470) 'a natural lake or pond'; paṭikkula (Vin. i. 58) 'lit. against the shore, contrary etc. Skt. pratikula; bhisakka (N. i. 429) 'a physician, Skt. bhiṣaj.

Result of Dissimilation

kipillikā (Sn. 602) 'an ant' cf. also kipillaka (J. i. 487) Skt. pipīlikā.

Due to Metrical Reason

sandhāvissaṃ (Dh. 153) 'to run through, to transmigrate 'ss' due to metri causa.

y has a tendency towards doubling

apeyya (J. iv. 205) 'undrinkable', Skt. apeya; abhibhuyya (Dh. 328) 'overcoming', Skt. abhibhūya; dakkhineyya (M. i. 37) 'worthy of a dakṣinā, cf. also dakkhineyyatā (Miln. 240); deyya (J. iii. 12), Skt. deya; bhāgineyya (J. i. 207) 'sister's son, nephew', Skt. bhāgineya; bhiyyo (Sn. 61) 'more', Skt. bhūyah, cf. also bhiyyoso (J. i. 61) 'still more, more and more'; bhojaneyya (DA i. 28) 'fit to eat'; cf. also bhojanīya (Vin. iv. 92) and bhojanīya (S. i. 167); miyyati (Sn. 804) 'to die', Skt. mriyate, cf. miyyare (Sn. 575) miyye (J. vi. 498), miyyissati (M. iii. 246); ramaneyya (Dh. 98) 'agreeable', Skt. ramanīya, cf. ramaṇīya, viceyya (D. ii. 21) 'with discrimination'; seyyasi (J. v. 353), seyyaso

(Dh. 43) 'still more', Skt. sreyas; hiyyo (J. i. 70) 'yesterday', Skt. hyah.

V> bb

pasibbaka (J. i. 112) 'a sack', Skt. pravesaka cf. pasibbaka (Th. i. 1150) and pasippaka; yobbana (Sn. 98) 'youth' Skt. yauvana.

y > bb

pubba (J. ii. 18) 'pus', Skt. pūya.

Graphic Representation

pitunnam (J. iii. 83), Skt. pitṛṇām, cf. also pitunaṃ; bahunnaṃ (Sn. 503), Skt. bahūnām, cf. also bahunaṃ.

Analogy

upassattha (J i. 61) 'thrown upon, overcome, oppressed', Skt. upasṛṣṭa, upa +√sṛj ; vissajjana (Vism. 6) 'answer ; reply' "ss" after the analogy of ussajjati (A. iv. 191) and nissajjati; suggati (Dh. 18) 'happiness, bliss', after duggati.

Compensatory doubling

allina (M. i. 80) 'adhering to, clinging', Skt. alīna; alliyati (J. i. 273) 'to stick to'.

List of Abbreviations

The editions of the texts referred to are those published by the Pali Text Society, London. The Roman and the Arabic figures in the references, refer respectively to the volume and page numbers.

D	Dīgha-nikāya.
Dh	Dhammapada.
J	Jātaka.
M	Majjhima-nikāya.
Sn	Sutta-nipāta.
Th. i.	Thera-gāthā.
Vim	Vinaya-piṭaka.
Vism	Visuddhimagga.

OBSERVATIONS ON SOME PAHLAVI-PAZAND SANSKRIT WORDS

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The Zorastrian Pahlavi texts were transcribed in Pazand and were translated into Sankrit by the great Parsi Sanskritist Nreyōsangha son of Dhavala, who flourshed in India in or about the 12th century. There were other Parsi Sanskritists, namely Akā Adhyāru, Dinidās Bahman, and Mobed Chānde, who flourished in later centuries and who translated Zoroastrian texts into Sanskrit or composed treatises in Sanskrit on Zoroastrian subjects.

In Vol. XXVII (July-Oct. 1971, pages 329-331) of this esteemed Journol the present writer has pointed out that Pahlavi *patvand,* Pazand *paevand* is used in the sense of "lineage, descendant, successor", and that the said Pahlavi-Pazand word is translated in the Sanskrit version by *amānaya* used in the same sense of "a family, a series of families (*kula, kulakrama*) as given in ancient Sanskrit lexicons, as noted by Bothing and Roth, and also by Apte and by Monier-Wiliams.

Some remarks on the extant fragment of Sanskrit translation of the Videvdat have been offered by the present writer in his paper ON THE SANSKRIT VERSION OF THE VIDEVDĀT, published in *The K. R.*

Cama Oriental Institute Golden Jublee Volumc, Bombay 1969.

Some more instances of Sanskrit translation of some Pahlavi-Pazand words, indicating peculiarities of Sanskrit version are given below :

(1) *aburt framānīh* "disobedienss", Skt· tr. श्राकृत-श्रादेश a strictly literal translation to bring out the original sense of the Pahlavi expression.

(2) *adīnīh* "irreligiousnees", Skt. tr. श्रदीनीत्व a Sanskritized form of the original Iranian word *dén, dīn.*

(3) *ak-dénīh* "bad religion", Skt.Tr. श्रगदीनीत्व—again a Sanskritized form of the Iranian word.

(4) *Frajām* "end, conclusion" used in the sense of 'the final goal' of the creation, Skt· tr. निर्वाण—a term of Indian religious philosophy.

(5) *yātū, jādū* "a sorcerer", Skt. tr. राक्षस—It appear that this Sanskrit translation of the word is due to the fact that in Zoroastrianism sorcery is regarded as one of the devilish acts and one of the most grievous sins.

(6) *Xvéskārīh* "One's own work, duty", Skt. tr. सतकार्यत्व—brings out proper sense of the original word.

(7) *Pātzahr, pāzahr* "aginst poison, or antidote", Skt. tr. विष-श्रौषध—again expresses proper sense of the original term.

(8) *fraškart* "renovation" (an eschatological term), Skt. tr· श्रक्षयत्त्व—'indistructibility'—explanation of the original term.

(9) *Xraftar, xarwastar,* "literary "creeping creatures, reptile, insect" generally used in the sense of "noxious creature", Skt. tr. क्षुद्रजन्तु– again expresses the original meaning.

(10) *maγ* "pit, holes", Skt. tr. शिला "stone". In the Avestan times "pits, holes" were dug for giving ablution in the Barashnum cermony, and they were used as seats for ablution. In later times instead pits, holes, stone slabs were used as ablution seats. For this reason, Pahlavi *maγ* "pit, hole" is transtated into Sanskrst by शिला "stone"

(11) *Xvarśēt-nikīriśn* "exlosed to the sun" Skt. tr. सूर्यंग्रवलोकय—correctly expresses the meaning of the original word. A corresponding term occurs in the commentary of the Sanskrit version of Videvdat : सूर्यनीरीक्ष Since this Sanskrit word occurs in the commentary, the correspon-ding Avesta or Pahlavi word is not known. But one may with justification suggest that this Sanskrit word is appropriate Sanskrit translation of Avesta *hvar-darsya* Pahlavi translation *xvarśēt-nikīriśn.*

Generally, attempts have been made to render Avesta and Pahlavi words by cognate Sanskrit words.

Avesta	Pahlavi	Sanskrit translation
kaśa	*kaś*	कक्षा
daśina	*daśn*	दक्षिण
dātar	*dātār*	दातृ
huśka	*huśk, xuśk*	शुष्क
frasna	*frāc śostan*	प्रस्ना

tanu	*tan*	तनु
anya	*an, ané*	अन्य
namah	(*niyayatisn*)	नमस्
paδa	*ḍaδ, pay*	पद
karta	*kart*	कृत
mru	(*guftan*)	ब्रू
vāta	*vāt*	वात

The Avesta mentions the names of four sweet-scented, soft-wooded trees and plants, wood of which was used as fuel for fire and also for fumigation. These Avesta names with Pahlavi and Sanskrit translations are given below :

	Avesta	Pahlavi	Sanskrit translation
(1)	*urvāsna*	*rāsn*	अगरुन
(2)	*vhugaona*	*hugon*	उत्तम चंदन
(3)	*vohukarti*	*hukart*	उत्ताम कर्पुर
(4)	*haδanaepata*	*haδanapat*	हिनवा (only a transcript)

It is defficult to identify these trees and plants (except the last) mentioned in the Avesta. Pahlavi translation is mere transcript (in case of 1 and 4) or literal translation (in the case of 2 and 3). The old Gujarati translation of the Vidēvdāt explains these names respectively thus : (1) sandalwood, (2) good frank-incense (3) good aloe-wood, and (4) pomegranate. Sanskrit and old Gujarati explanations appear to have been based on the custom of later times in India.

In the Sixteen Sanskrit Ślokas pertaining to the Zoroastrian religion, composed by Akā Adhyāru (about

the 14th century), these names occur. The eight Śloka mentins these names thus :

(1) अगरुन्	"aloe-wood",
(2) मलयज	"sandalwood",
(3) कर्पुर	"camphor"
(4) धूप	"incense",

The Śloka substantially agrees with Sanskrit translation of Vidévdāt. The mention of कर्पुर in Skt. tr. and also in the Śloka and its Gujarati translation is remarkable.

THREE ROOTS IN THE VIKRAMĀṄKA-DEVACARITA

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In this paper an attempt is made to examine the verbal forms derived from the Roots : *l u ṇ ṭ h* "to rob", *l u ṭ (h)* 1. "to roll" and *l u ṭ h* 2. "to strike, beat against" occurring in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*.

The dictionaries know a root *luṭ* "to roll, wallow" and a root *luṭh* "to roll, wallow".[2] It seems that the latter form though wide-spread, is actually only a wrong spelling for *luṭ* (cp. Hindi *loṭnā* "to wallow" against *luṭhnā* "to be robbed", Skt. *luṇṭh*.[3] In the following, the verb for "to roll, wallow" will be spelt throughout as *luṭ(h)* (meaning the invariable MS. spelling *luṭh*), the verb for "to strike, beat against", will be spelt *luṭh* (in agreement with the MSS).[4]

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1. Here after referred to *Vcar*. For other abbriviations : cp. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 33.

2. W.D. Whitney, *Roots, Verb-Forms and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language*, Leipzig (1885), only *luṭh* "roll".

3. Also cp. the root *luḍ* which is Prākṛt for *luṭ* and then retaken into Sanskrit : ā+*lōḍaya*—"to churn" (*Vcar*., 4.19.96 ; *loḍana*—"churning", 1.90; 6.68). From this *luḍ* is to be derived *lola* "rolling, moving", cf. 11.79 —*gaṇḍasthalavilulitabāṣpa*—"tears have begun to roll on the cheeks". For *ḍ*, *ḷ*, *l* between vowels, see Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, p. 546 ff.

4. The spelling *luṭ* for *luṭh* "to strike" does, however, occur elsewhere ; cp. PW. *s.v. luṭ*.

A *lunṭh* "to rob"

कर्णामृतं रक्षत.......... ।
यदस्य..........लुण्ठनाय काव्यार्थचौराः प्रगुणीभवन्ति ।।

"Protect the nectar of the ears (your poetry)......, because the thieves of the property which is poetry are becoming expert in (lit. for) robbing/stealing (*lunṭh*) it......"

यात्रासु दिक्पालपुरीं विलुण्ठ्य न दिग्गजान्केवलमाग्रहीद्यः ।

"who having looted (*vi* with *lunṭ*), on his expeditions, the city of the guardians of the quarters, did not seize/conquer the quarter elephants only..."

पृथ्वीभुजङ्गः परिकम्पिताङ्गीं
यशः पटोल्लुठनकेलिकारः ।
विधृत्य काञ्चीं भुजयोर्बलेन
यश्चोलराज्यश्रियमाचकर्ष ।।

"Who, as the paramour of the earth (=as a king) snatched/raped by the strength of his arms the royal fortune/the Fortuna of the kingdom of the Colas, whose army[5] had been shaken/whose limbs had started to tremble,[6] after he had opened[7] Kāñchī[8]/her belt, indulg-

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5. An army consists of four *aṅgas*, thus *aṅga*—stands here for *caturaṅga*—"army".

6. I take *kampita*—to be p.p. of the causative *kampaya*—when applied to the army and p.p. of the root *kamp* when applied to the body of Fortuna.

7. Read *vivṛtya* instead of *vidhṛtya*; cp. Bühler, Introd., p. 45, on the difficulty of distinguishing *dh* and *v* in the MS.

8. The capital of the Colas.

ing in the sport of robbing (*ud* with *luṇṭh*) it (the capital) /her (the Fortuna) of its flags/of her [white] cloth (dress) that was its/her [white] fame/honour."

त्वत्सैन्यलुण्ठितः...पयसां निधिः ।।

"...the ocean that was robbed [of its pearls] by his (the king's soldiers ...".

.... सा ... .

नयनचुलुकलुण्ठ्यमानकान्तिर्द्रविडवधूभिः ... ...

"...he (the king) whose beauty was robbed (stolen) i. e. taken away by stealth) in the bowls that were their eyes by the women of the Draviḍas ...";

...मृणाली कीर्तिलुण्ठनम्

"......The robbing/stealing of the fame of the lotus root."

क्वापि दाहमपरत्र लुण्ठनं बन्धनं क्वचिददाज्जनस्य सः ।

"He conferred on the people in some place burning [of their cities], in another places looting (*luṇṭhana*), in some places captivity......"

नो कायस्थैः कुटिललिपिभिर्नो न..............लुण्ठिता...च ।

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9. On Bühler's spelling *luṇṭyamāna*, see below note on 3.76 and further on *luṇṭhyamāna* in 2.90.

10. Cp. above p. 35 for the verse being quoted in *sodukhkar ṇamṛta* (Skm.) 850.

..................यत्संगृहीता ...लक्ष्मीः.................... ॥

"The fortune acquired by him was robbed (*luṇṭhitā*) neither by Kayasthas, whose writing crooked, nor by ......nor by......"

B. *luṭ*(*h*) 1. "to roll"

...तुषाराद्रितटे लुट (ठ) न्तः शीतेन खिन्नास्तुरगाः...... ॥

"horses became tormented by the cold (snow) when rolling/wallowing on the slopes of the Himālaya".

यस्य..............................जाने धवलत्वमापुः ।

अरातिनारीशरकाण्डपाण्डुगण्डस्थली निर्लुठनाद्यशांसि ॥

"Whose fame......became white, I fancy, because of its rolling *niḥ—luṭ*(*h*)[11] on the cheeks white as sugar-cane stalks[12] [from grief], of the wives of the enemies."

This is an *utprekṣā*, that is : a poetical fancy not, a description of a real happening. The poet imagines the fame actually : "the fames") of the king to roll/wallow on the cheeks in a feeling of exuberance, like say, those horses of verse 1.67 (cp. also 7.37). In reality "fame" is always thought to be white by nature, it need not become white.

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11. Cp. *nirluṭ*(*h*)*ana*—: 5.3.

12. For whiteness of [ripe] sugar-cane stalks cp. e.g. Viddh—1.32.33 . . . *paripākapāṇḍurāṇām śarakāṇḍānām*.

उच्चैः स्थितं तस्य किरीटरत्नं तेजोधनानामुपरि स्थितस्य ।
क्षमामिव प्रार्थयितुं लुलोठ संक्रान्तिभङ्ग्या मणिपादपीठे ।।

"His (the king's) crown-jewel, which had its place above him, who had his place above all [other] resplendent ones, rolled on his jewel foot-stool under the pretext of [its own] reflection—as if to beg pardon [for its impertinence]."

Rolling at somebody's foot is a sign of self-humiliation ; cp. 6.91.

कथयामास नासाग्र–विलुट(ठ)द्बाष्पशीकरः ।।

"......he said while a shower of tears rolled to the tips of his nose".

...रुरोद वपुषा भूपृष्ठलुठितेन सः ।।

"......he wept with his body rolling on the ground". Rolling on the ground is a sign of intense grief ; cp. 11.6.

तल्पनिर्लुट(ठ)नशीर्णचन्दः

"he whose sandal paste had gone on account of his rolling *niḥ—luṭ(h)* on his bed in the nights".

ओष्ठपृष्ठलुटि(ठि)तस्मिताञ्चलः

13. Instead of *viluṭ(h)ad* "rolling round" (cp. 6.91) read *niluṭ(h)ad* "rolling down"? Cp. on 12.76.

"on the back of whose lips the fringe of a smile had begun to roll".

उभयनरपतिप्रतापलक्ष्म्यौ विलुलुट (ठ) तुश्चरणद्वये ।

Both the kings' majesties rolled round (*vi—luṭ*(*h*) at his feet".

Cp. on 3-24.

लुलोट(ठ) पुष्पोत्कररेणुपुञ्जे

"....he (the spring season) rolled/wallowed in the heap of the polen of the many flowers...".

वियोगिनीनां...लुलोट (ठ) कण्ठेषु लीलाकलपञ्चमो यः

"The soft fifth note that rolled (thrilled) in the throats of the women....".

Cp. e.g. Viddh. 1.27...*kaṇṭhe lolayantaḥ parabhṛta-vayasāṁ pañcamaṁ rāgarājam . . . samīrāḥ dāṣiṇātyaḥ.*

Cp. on 13.87.

क्रन्दतिस्म...लुट(ठ)तिस्म

"he cried, he rolled around [on the ground]"

Cp. on 4.70.

सप्रमाणमिव पाणिगतेभ्यः संमुखं विलुटि(ठि)ता चषकेभ्यः

...........मदिरा..........

"the wine rolling[14] towards them from the drinking cups in their hands as if bowing down [in salutation]".

14. *Vcar* (3rd ed. Comm.), incorrectly glossed *viluṭ*(*h*)*itā* by *viluṇṭhitā* "robbed".

पाण्डुगण्डस्थल विलुटि(ठि)त वाष्प

"tears that began to roll on the yellow cheeks". Instead of *viluṭ(h)ita*—read *niluṭ(h)ita*—?.

Cp. on 4.43.

क्षितौ लुट(ठ)न्तः नवाभ्रविन्दवः

"now rain drops rolling on the earth".

मत्तैरावणकण्ठगर्भविलुट(ठ)दगम्भीरगर्जाचन:

"strong as the deep roaring sound rolling inside the throat of Airāvaṇa (Indra's elephant) in *rut*".

Cp. the English idiom "rolling thunder". Somewhat similar seems the idea of the "rolling (=thrilling) fifth note" in 7.44.

द्विपघटाः कटस्थली निलुं (ठ) द्बहलदान निर्झराः

"multitudes of elephants, with streams of thick rut rolling (*niḥ—luṭ*(*h*) on their temples".

पृष्ठनिलुंटि(ठ)तभूमिरेणवस्तस्य वारणवरा विरेजिरे

"his excellent elephants, the dust of the ground having rolled on their backs, appeared round [like . . .]".

श्रीकाश्मीरक्षितिभुजि गते वश्यतां यद्गुणना-
मुहुश्चिन्ताक्लमपरिचयं कानि नान्तःपुराणि ।
स्वच्छा कीर्तिर्नभसि विसिनीपत्रमित्रे लुलोट(ठ)
श्च्योतद्धारासलिलमकरोद्धाम लक्ष्मी कृपाणम् ॥

"When the king of Kashmir had become a slave of her (the queen Subhaṭā's) excellent qualities which of

15. Cp. 11.79 *gaṇḍasthalavilulitabhāṣpa*—"tears have begun to roll on the cheeks" : *lulita*—Sanskritized Prākṛt *luḍita*—/*lulita*=Skt. *luṭita*—"rolled".

his harem-wives did not acquire familiarity with the exhaustion of worry [because he did not care for them any more]. His spotless (resplendent) fame (*kīrti*) [formerly also a 'beloved one' of his, for whom he does not care any more] rolled[16] on the lotuslike (blue nymphaea is intended) sky (i.e. the dark night—sky). His fortune (*Lakṣmī*) [formerly also a "beloved one" of his] took as her dwelling his sword, from which there drops the water of the blade (its shine).[17]

......भूभुजां वल्लभा श्रीः खड्गे यस्य द्विपमदमषीपङ्कलिप्ते लुलोट(ठ) ।

"Royal fortune, who was the belowed of the kings, rolled on his sword that was smearcd with the bog (= the black bog) that was the ink that was the rut of the elephants".

तरुण्या...वाष्पपङ्के लुटन्ति

Cp. on 4. 70.

"the young girls roll in the bog of tears".

Cp. on. 18. 51.

C. *luṭh* 2. "to strike, to beat against (*upaghāte*, *pratighāte*)

..शत्रुकठोरकण्ठपीठास्थिनिर्लोठनकुण्ठधारः ।

.........कृपाणः.........

"the sword whose edge was blunt through its beating as under (*niḥ-loṭhana*) the had bones of the basis of the necks of the enemies.

---

16. Cp. on 4.7d. Possibly the poet thinks of the fame as begi n in the shape of the stars that roll/turn round the polar star.

17. Probably the poet thinks of the tears of Lakṣmī as the "water of the blade".

......द्राविडीनाम् ।

कर्पूरापाण्डुगण्डस्थललुठितरयां......... ....वायवः ॥

"the winds, whose vehemence was beaten off (*luth*) by the cheeks, yellow through camphor, of the Draviḍa-women".

नरेन्द्रलीलाकरयन्त्रवारि लुलोठ देव्याः कुचकुम्भ पीठे ।

The water from the play fountain that was the king's hand beat against the pot that was the breast of the queen".

तं...तुरङ्गवाहिनींहठनिर्लोठनबद्धकौतुकम् ।

"him who had formed a wish to beat as under to utterly destroy by force the cavalery army".

D. Doubtful or ambiguous spellings

चञ्च्चारणीदीयमानकलकं सम्नद्धगीतध्वनि
स्फूर्जद्गाथकलुण्ठ्यमानकरटप्रारब्धनृत्तोत्सवम् ।
....
.....................क्ष्माभर्तुरासीद्गृहम ॥

"The king's palace...was one in which gold was being given to alternately reciting bards, in which the sound of singing was connected (continuous), in which the (male) singers were bursting forth (starting loud songs), in which drums were beaten, in which a festival of dancing had started".

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18. For *cañcac*—("jumping") read *carcac*—("repeating, alternating").

The Ms. reads *karaṭi*, which would be "elephant". If this is adopted, no acceptable sense can be worked out from the text : "where elephants were being robbed" cannot be twisted into "were carried away" (i. e. fascinated[19]) [by the singers]) as interpreted by Eng. rend,, apart from it that elephants are not known to enjoy music. We have to follow Bühler in correcting-*karati*--into *karata*, which is not only "temple [of an elephant]" but also "particular musical instrument" (*Medinī : karatovādyabhede*, in PW. *s, v.*), which fits in the context well. This musical instrument, of course, would be of the shape of an elephant's temple, hence a kind of drum. From this results that we have to change *lunṭhyamāna* "being robbed, taken by force" into *luṭhyamāna* "being beaten".

Occasionally there occurs instead of *luṇṭh* a form *luṇṭ*, which may be nothing else but a (bad) copyist's spelling. It is, however, frequent enough to have induced the dictionaries to pose a *luṇṭ* "to rob" beside *luṇṭh*, "to rob". In verse 3.76 Bühler (ed. pri.) has twice *luṇṭ*, the second and the third editions have once *luṇṭh* (in a) and one *luṇṭ*[20]) (in c). Intended is obviously everywhere *luṇṭh* "to rob".

काञ्ची...विलुण्ठिताभूत् ...
लुण्ठाक लुप्तनिखिलाम्बर

"(whose) entire dresses were taken away by the looters".

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19. To fascinate in Sanskrit would be *mano* (acc.) *hṛ*. A *mano* (acc.) *luṇṭh*; in the sense of "to fascinate" would, of course, be unexceptionable.

20. Cp. also 6.24 where Bhler has *luṇṭyamāna*—and subsequent editions (correctly) *luṇṭhyamāna*—.

सूत्राम्णोऽपि श्रवसि लुठितम् यस्य शङ्के कथाभिः

"the tales about him (Bilhaṇa) knocked against the ear even of Indra".

luthitam.......kathābhih...... may be interpreted also as "the tales rolled towards the ear even of Indra (*kathābhih ... luṭhitam* as *tena gatam* "he went"[21]). Bühlers "came—to the ears of Indra" avoids to decide the issue.

E. Conspectus of grammatical forms used[22]

luṇṭh "to rob".

Verb. (—) *luṅṭhita* (3.76; 4.16; 18.42)
luṇṭhya (1.84)
luṇṭhyamāna[23] (6.24)

Deriv: : *luṇṭhana* (1.11, 115; 8.65; 14.54)
luṇṭh is compounded with *vi* : 1.84; 3.76; 18·42.

luṭ (h) 1. "to roll,'.

Pres. *luṭ(h)ati, luṭ(h)anti* (11.6 ; 16.66)

Perf. *uloṭ(h)a* (3·24 ; 7.73, 44 ; 18.43, 51)
—*luluṭ(h)atuḥ* (6·91·

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21. Būhler (*ed. pri.*) ; *viluṇṭitā.*

22. Instead of *luṇṭāka* in all editions read ; *luṇṭhāka* ; see also *Vcar.* 1.11 quoted in Alaṁkāras. by Ruyyaka wherein certain editions (cf. TSS. 40, p. 143 (1915) ; ed. S.S. Janaki, p. 147) read *luṇṭanāya* instead of (correct) *luṇṭhanāya* in other editions (cp. Kāvyamāla 35, p. 118 ; ed. R.C. Dwivedi, p. 218, Delhi, 1965) and in our text.

23. In this case read *luṭ(h)itam.*

24. Arrangement according to that of W. D. Whitney, The Roots Verb-Forms . . . , Leipzig (1885).

25. —*luṇṭhyamāna*—in 2.90 is to be emended to *luṭhyāmana*—, see above p. 9*ad Versum.*

Verb. (—) *luṭ(h)ita* (4·70 ; 11.51 ; 12·76 ; 18.95)
(—*luṭ(h)ant* (1.67 ; 4.43 ; 13.35, 87 ; 14·52)

Deriv· : *luṭ(h)ana* (5·3)

luṭ(h) is compounded with :

niḥ (5.3)

vi (4·43 ; 6.91 ; 11·51 ; 12·76 ; 13·87)

luṭh 2· "to strike, to beat against".

Perf. *luloṭha* (10.86)

Verb· *luṭhita* 7·71 ; 18.95)
luṭhyamāna (2·90) see note 47 below)

Deriv· : *loṭhana* (1·61 ; 15·65)

luṭh is compounded with *niḥ* (1·61 ; 15.65)

MEANING OF 'MARYA' IN 'MARYĀDĀ

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The word 'maryādā' occurs twice in the Ṛgveda 4.5.13 × 10.5.6. The meaning 'boundary' suits equally both these passages. Whether 'maryādā' is broken up into 'maryāt+ā' or 'maryā+dā', 'marya' or 'maryā' remains as the first component part of 'maryādā'. An independent word 'marya' which occurs several times in the Ṛgveda and means 'mail' is not etymologically and semantically related to this 'marya' then, mayMarya be regarded as a homonym. The meaning of the one is certain while the meaning of the other is yet to be ascertained.

'Marya' in 'maryādā' most probably refers to a sea. There can be no boundary better than a sea-shore. Parallels of 'Marya' having the sense of 'sea' are the most wide-spread incognate languages, e. g.

O. S. l. morje; Lith. mares, (=black sea); Goth. marei; Latin-mare; Irish-muir.

In Germanic branch O. E. mere and Dutch meer mean lakes. O. E. mere had the sense of sea also which now survives in N. E. mer-maid.

'Mari' or 'mori' has been suggested as the hypothetical proto-Ir form. But what is the etymological sense of 'mari' or 'mori'? The GRK. 'marmairo'=glisten, as

the origin of words of 'mari' group does not appear to be convincing. Verbs like mlā, mruc and mluc in the Ṛgveda originally mean 'to become dark'. Mruc or mluc has parallel verb-forms in the following languages:–

O. S. l. Mrûcati; Lith. Merkti.

Parallels of mlā are preserved in substantives in the following languages :—

O. S l. Mrak; Lith. Mraku; GrK. Melas (=dark in colour); O. N. Myrkr; O. E. merce; N. E. mirk.

Three derivatives of the above roots are available in the Ṛgveda, e. g. marka (=solar eclipse), marīci (sun-rays) and nimruc (sun-set). Out of these three marka and nimruc originally meant darkness. The meaning traditionally ascribed to 'marīci' is said to be sun-rays. But here also the original sense of marīci appears to have been dark, dusk, and then twilight. It was the secondary meaning twilight from which the sense of sun-rays developed. Ṛgvedic passages (10.58.6 and 10.177.1) were 'marīci' occurs can be explained better with the sense of twilight than with the sense of 'sun-rays'.

Now words of 'marī-group also, appear to have been derived from the same source having the same original sense of darkness. The blue sheet of water of a sea may have been the reason behind this nomenclature It is interesting to note that Lith. 'mares' means 'black sea' and another word 'jura' has the sense of a sea.

It will not be out of place here to mention another set of parallels of marya with slightly different meanings in the following languages :—

O. N. mork = forest, orig. border land.

Goth. marka; O. H. G. marca; O. E. mearc = boundary, border land; N. E. march = "id"

Lat. margo=edge, borders.

If thc above equations and conclusions based on them are accepted, they set at rest the debate among scholar's whether the important Ir, languages have a common word for sea or not.

BUDDHIST INFLUENCE UPON THE VĀKYAPADĪYA

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As we have previously seen, Bhartṛhari rejects the doctrine of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but if one scrutinizes his view carefully, one can see that he is well-informed of Buddhist thought. It appears that he was thoroughly familiar with Buddhist literature. Throught the Vākyapadīya he unconsciously adopts Buddhist expressions and modes of explanation.

The commentator Helarāja says that Bhartṛhari sometimes adopts Buddhist doctrine. At of—the Vākyapadīya 3.3.72 (p. 133), after referring to the doctrine of regarding non-existence as a substance, he says ;

"Since that which transcends[1] the objects of expression is not a substance, one cannot speak of the distinction which exist in substances.

avastutvād atītaṁ yad vyavahārasya gocaram
tatra vastugato bhedo na nirvacanam arhati
(Vākyap. III, 3, 75, p. 134)

According to Helarāja, this stanza is composed in accordance with 'the Buddhist viewpoint' (Bauddhadṛṣṭi); it expounds the view that 'there is no independent non-

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1. *Sarvavyavahārātīta*........Helarāja.

existence separated from existence.' This view is indeed found in Buddhist literature, for example in the *Madhyamika Śāstra* (25, 7) one finds :

"Where there is not existance there is not non-existence."

yatra bhāvo na nābhāvastatra vidyate.

The passage from the Vākyapadīya cited above is so Mahayana Buddhistic in expression that it would not at all seem strange to find it in a Buddhist text. Bhartṛhari takes a position with similar import in various other passages as well[2]. He maintains that it is impossible to establish the real types and distinctions of 'non being' and here too one can see the influence of Buddhist doctrine. Although the theories of the grammarians of antiquity were quite similar to Vaśieṣika doctrine, Bhatṛhari here differs, or rather, it would be better to say that he expressed a theory which was more advanced. Since this conceptual reform was effected through the influence of Buddhism it assumes an even greater significance.

Another example of what Helarāja regards as the adoption of Buddhist doctrine is the reference made to 'various changing forms' (*ākārair apāyibhih...*) at Vākyapadīya III, 2, 4.[3]

In the preceeding section we took up the question of metaphores but did not give an exhaustive account.

2. For example III, 3, 67-68 (p. 131).

3. "capayibhir" iti heturnirdesah Sakyasamakaksyataya krtah. ....(Helaraja ad Vakyap. III, 2, 4).

4. alātacakravad rūpam kriyanam parikalpyate/ (III, 8, 8, p. 308).

For example, the metaphor of the wheel of fire brand referred to in many places other than those heretofore cited.

'It is based upon the *Śrutis* that one has the experience of perceiving forms of things [even] in the wheel of fire-brand etc. which are the causes of absolutely false [words].'

That is to say, the wheel of fire is, in itself, non-being (non existent) but since it is discussed in the sacred books it is possible to treat it as something which has the character of a material object. In other passages also[4] the wheel of fire is referred to as something which does not actually exist but merely manifests itself temporarily. The use of the wheel of fire metaphor in this sense is clearly the result of Buddhist influence.[5]

The mode of expression peculiar to Buddhist works can be seen in various places throughout the Vākyapadīya. For example, Bhartṛhari says of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*.

'[It is] bottomless because of profoundity clear, as it were, because of eki (fulness).'

alabdagādho gāmbhīryād uttāna iva sausṭhavāt
(Vākyap. II, 486)

The two words 'profoundity' (*gambhīrya*) 'clear' (*uttāna*) are used in this sense only in Buddhist works[6], and further, putting these concepts in opposition is also peculiar to Buddhist texts,

5. Cf. The Development of Vedanta Philosophy, p. 515 ff.
6. Cf. Footnote 2 of the previous section.

In the section on Buddhism of his *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* Mādhava cites a stanza from Nāgarjuna's *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* and comments on it as follows :

And it should not be taught that 'the distinction of the teachings according to [the difference in] intention of the people who are to be guided is not based on orthodox tradition.' For the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* says as follows :

"The teachings of the Lord of the world (*lokanātha*) in this world following the intentions and abilities of people, are multifariously divided through many expediencies. The teachings are distinguished owing to the difference of 'profound' and 'clear' (*gambhīrottāna-bheda*), being characterized by both in some cases. [However,] *śūnyatā* which is of non-dual character is not differentiated.'[7].

Since this sort of explanation does not appear in other parts of the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha* it would seem that in Mādhava's eyes the contrast of 'profound' (*gambhīra*) and 'clear' (*uttana*) was expounded explicitly only in Buddhism.[8]

The view which recognizes the opposition of these two modes of preadhing the law finds expression not only in the Madhyamika writing of Nāgārjuna but also in works of the Vijñānavādins. For example, in the

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7. Tohoku Catalogue No. 1800. According to Poussin's French translation of the second chapter of Outline of Philosophical Systems, this verse is in Tandjour, Rgyud XXXIII. fol. 45b and is quoted at Bhamati ad II, 2, 18. (cf. Anandajnana ad l. c.)

8. SDS. II, 11. 341-347.

Yogācara-bhūmi 'shallow' (*uttāna*) and 'profound' (*gambhīra*) are regarded as two opposing concepts and in the passage which explains the pure acts of benificence of the bodhisattava the same claim is made.

punar bodhisattaḥ pūrvam bālaprajñānāṁ sathanam uttānām dharmadeśanāṁ karoti uttānāṁ avavādānuśāsanīm anupravartayati. madhyaprajñāṁs caināṁ viditvā madhyāṁ dharmadeśanāṁ madhyāvavādānuśāsanīṁ anupravartayati. pṛthuprajnāṁś caināṁ viditvā gambhīrāṁ dharmadeśanāṁ sūkṣmān avavādānuśasānīm anupravartayaty anupūrveṇa kusalapakṣasamudāgamāya iyam asyānupūrvaṁ sattveṣu arthacaryā[9].

These two terms *uttana* and *gambhira* are used in a specialized sense even in the sacred works of primitive Buddhism[10]. Thus there would seem to be nothing which stands in the way of concluding that Bhartṛhari's use of such expressions is attributable to Buddhist influence.

However, the Buddhist influence is not restricted to mere details of style and vocabulary but penetrates to the very core of the thought of the Vākyapadīya. Mahayana Buddhist texts are emphatic that the absolute state, considered as truth, transcends our discursive thought and thus can only be expressed in a negative fashion, and consequently negative terms are repeated over and over. However, in the Vākyapadīya also the

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9. Bodhisattvabhūmi, p. 224. The Opinions of Yoga Master, Book 43 (Taisho Tripitaka, Vol 30, p. 531). Moreover the contrast of these two concepts appears at other places in this work also. Bodhisattvabhūmi pp. 262, 1. 24-263, 1. 21 p. 283, 1. 19.

10. e.g. Anguttara-Nikaya, vol. I, p. 70.

same sort of explanation is given. The absolute is explained thus.

'Truth (*tattva*)[11] is neither existent not non-existent. It is neither one nor different. It is not connected nor it is divided. It is not changed nor it is otherwise (non-changed).'[12]

na tad asti na tan nāsti na tad ekaṁ na tat pṛthak
na saṁsṛṣṭam vibhaktaṁ vā vikṛtaṁ na ca nānyathā
(Vākyap, III, 2, 12, p. 91)

This passage brings to mind the famous dedicatory verse of the Madhyamika-Śāstra. Moreover, if we think of the meaning of the phrases we can see that the negative expressions of this verse correspond *in order* to the Madhyamika Sastra's 'No production. No extinction. No annihilation. No permanence. No unity. No diversity. No coming. No departure.' But this alone is not sufficient to warrant the conclusion that this passage is the result of the direct influence of the Mādhyamika-Śāstra. (The reason being that expressions arranged in the form of eight negations are to be found quite often in other Mahayana texts.) Nontheless, it cannot be doubted that this form of expression was borrowed from some Mahayana sutra or śastra.

This verse is also very similar to the first verse of Tattvādhikāra 7 of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*.

na san na cāsan na tathā na cānyathā na jāyate vyeti na cāvahīyate

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11. Supplemented by Helarāja.
12. avikṛta.........Helarāja.

na vardhate nāpi viśudhyate punar viśudhayate tat paramārthalakṣaṇam.

(*Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra*) VI. 1)

Chinese translation : "No existence and no non-existence, no similarity and no difference, no birth and no extinction, no increase and no decrease, no purity and no impurity. These five pairs of negations express the highest truth. Aspirants must, above all, know this."[13]

If one compares this verse to the verse of Bhartṛhari cited above it is obvious that 'no existence and no non-existence', 'no similarity and no difference', 'no increase and no decrease' are expressions common to both verses. However, this is only a similarity of linguistic expression and it does not necessarily mean that the two verses are identical in conceptual content.

According to Vasubandhu this verse can be interpreted in the following manner. This passage gives five classes of characteristics of paramartha i.e., *advarartha* or *dharmadhātu.* (1) No existence and no non-existence. Paramartha, or pure (anāsrava) *dharmadhātu,* is not existent because, in the final analysis, that which is produced from imagination or dependent origination is not real. In contrast, it is not non-existent, for the highest truth (*tathatā*) truly exists even though it is not recognized by the confused and foolish. (2) No identity and no difference means the same as 'no unity and no otherness'. Imagination is false and dependency is that which harmonizes truth and falsity. Since both

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13. Taisho Tripitaka, Vol. 31, p. 598.

are not absolutely identical with *tathata*, *paramārtha* is said to be 'not one'. However, imagination and dependency, in actual fact, do not exist completely independently, for both are ultimately traceable to *tathata*. Thus, they are not different from *tathata*. (3) No birth and no extinction. Since *dharmadhatu* is 'that which is not produced' in any way (*anabhisaṁskṛta*) it is indestructible. (4) No increase and no decrease. Through study and discipline the defiled portion of our nature (*saṁkleśapakṣa*) decreases and the purified portion (*vya-aadānapakṣa*) increases to the same degree, yet the *dharmadhatu* itself remains as it was i.e., no increase and no decrease. (5) No purity and no impurity. The true nature of *dharmadhātu* is without defilement, and even if we should attain this state through study and training the *dharmadhātu* has not thereby been particularly purified. On the other hand, from our point of view as human beings the *dharmadhātu* is covered and hidden by worldly passions, and since these defilements and illusions are removed only through our study and practice it is possible to say that the *dharmadhatu* is 'not without being purified'.

In contrast to this the previously cited passage from the Vākyapadīya must, according to Helarāja, be interpreted in the following manner. Truth is not something which exists as the essence of the various forms of change, but since that which has 'non-existence' as a determining attribute is not real it can also be said that 'it is not that it is not'. Since it is something prior to division one cannot even call it 'one' and yet, since nothing can exist separated from it, it is 'not different (differentiated)'. Further, since there is nothing which

exists in contrast to it, neither combination nor division constitute its essence. Since it does not admit of development (*pariṇāma*) but does admit of temporary manifestation (*vivarta*) it can be said to be 'not a changing thing'. However, since it manifests itself through the characteristics of a variety of phenomena one cannot say that it is unchanging.

I have some rather grave doubts about the validity of this interpretation given by Helaraja[14]. These negative expressions do not, it seems to me, have the meaning that Helarāja attributes to them but are rather the means used to express the notion of karma resulting from the relation of mutual dependency, such as is found in the Mādhyamika Śāstra, which Bhartṛhari had adopted. One can cite as evidence for this view the fact that both the opposition of unity and difference and that of existence—non-existence in the Vākyapadīya are established in the relation of interdependency and by the argument that these aspects cannot subsist independently. The idea that these concepts are established in the negation of the concepts which stand in opposition to them was first stressed by the Mahayana Buddhists, especially the Mādhyamika school. In this line by line investigation I have omitted any reference to the concept of the 'absolute Brahman' but none-the less I am convinced that the interpretation of the above passage from the Vākyapadīya must be made along the

14. For example, Helāraja and the later Vedanta scholar make a distinction between vivarta (temporary manifestation) and pariṇāma (development) while Bhartṛhari and Śaṅkara use the two terms with almost the same meaning. I will discuss this in detail later.

lines indicated. It is undeniable that the passage is quite similar to one of the most essential and central passages in all Mahayana literature. Moreover, one cannot but acknowledge that this similarity is not mere coincidence but is the result of the influence of Buddhist, literature on Bhartṛhari.

Not only does the thought and mode of expression of the Madhyamika school make their appearance in the Vākyapadīya but there aıe also passages which make use of the thought characteristic of the Vijñānavadins. At one point he explains that the reality of the highest truth is nondiscriminable although it manifests itself through the forms of discrimination. He then goes on to say :

'Just as the various qualities of objects of knowledge are not possible to exist (for they are not real)[15]; even though it is established that it (= the real, *tattva*) is, as it were, of the nature of these various qualities, it is not of the nature of them at all [from the highest truth].

yathā viṣayadharmāṇāṁ jñāne 'tyantam asaṁbhavaḥ
tadātmeva tat siddham atyantam atadātmakam
(Vākyap. III, 2, 9, p. 90)

According to Helarāja's commentary ' Just as...' is the statement of the *Vijñānavādins* (*Vijñānavāde viṣayākārasya tāvate 'satyatvān inlādiṣ takgato dharmo jaḍo jaḍo jñāne 'saṁbhave 'tyantam iti.*) As this commentary suggests there seems to be no reason not to regardt hese words as being

15. Supplemented by Helāraja.

Vijñānavāda doctrine. Thus it would seem that Bhartṛhari adopted the Vijñānavāda theory also, at least in so far as it agreed with or was capable of corroborating his own theory.

There is also the following lyric poem, which, although it does not appear in the *Vākyapadīya*, is attributed to Bhartṛhari.

"This world is mere thought, falsely originated.

But, Oh Brahman, where does it dissolve through the mere absence of thought ?"

saṁkalpamātram evedaṁ jagan mithyāsamutthitam[16]
asaṁkalpanamātreṇa brahman kvāpi vilīyate

Whether this poem is actually Bhartṛhari's work or not is not known, but at least it shows that his name has been traditionally linked with Vijñānavāda-type thought.

In addition, he often uses words which are related to the original terms for the two truths and the three modes of existence.

First let us consider the concept of 'the highest truth' *paramārtha*. Since this concept appears in the works of Śaṅkara and in the Māṇḍūkya Kārikā it has aroused the interest of many scholars as the evidence of Buddhist influence on these works. Bhartṛhari also made use of this concept in his works.

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16. Saṃkīrṇasloka v. 769. D. D. Kosambi; Bhartṛhari, p. 196.

(a) nityeṣu tu kutaḥ pūrvaṃ paraṃ vā *paramārthataḥ*
(Vākyap. II, 22, p. 77).

'But how could there truly be any before and after in the eternal from the stand point of the highest truth ?'

(b) *paramārthe* tayor eṣa bhedo 'tyantaṃ na vidyate
(*ibid.* III, 6, 26, p. 172)

'In the highest truth the distinction of both [identity and difference] does not at all exist.'

(c) *paramārthe* tu naikatvaṃ pṛthaktvād bhinnalakṣaṇam pṛthaktvaikatvarūpeṇa tattvam eva prakāśate
(*ibid.* III, 7, a, 39, p. 200)

'However, in the highest truth there is no identity which has an essence different from difference. The truth itself shines forth in the form of difference and identity.'

(d) na vākye 'sti vibhāgaḥ *paramārthataḥ*

'There is no division in a sentence from the standpoint of the highest truth.'

Further, the term *vyavahāra*, which is opposed to *paramārtha*, is also used often in the *Vākyapadīya*[17] although there is no example of it being used in explicit contrast to *paramārtha.*

Moreover, in the *Vākyapadīya* one frequently encounters terms which are very similar to the original terms for the three fold nature in Yogācāra philosophy.

17. For example III, 8, 18 (p. 313); 26 (p. 320).

First of all, the meaning 'perfection' or 'accomplishment[18].' is denoted by the term '*parinişpatti*' and which is used only in Buddhist literature.[19] Kumārajīva interprets this word as 'achievement'[20] and Hsuan-chuang interprets it as 'perfection'[21] or 'completion'[22]. In general, words derived from the root *parinș√pad* are to be found only in Buddhist works.[23] Although Bhartṛhari does not refer to *parinişpannalakṣaṇa* it should be kept in mind that he does use terms which are intimately connected with it.

Further, he often uses terms which correspond to the '*paratantra*' of *paratantralakṣaṇa*. Now the word '*paratantra*' had been in general use in India since the time of the Mahabharata and its meaning was something like 'to be dependent on another'. Nonetheless, it would seem plausible that Bhartṛhari's predeliction for using this word[24] to express this particular meaning rather than the many other available terms is attributable to a

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18. III, 7, a, 89 (239), III, 8, 53 (p. 334),

19. An observation of MW. KF. yields only Vajracchedikā, p. 40, ln. 8 f. as positive evidence for this term.

20. Saddharmapandarika (ed. by Wogihara and Tsuchida, p. 202, ln. 27).

21. Bodhisattvabhumi, p. 273, 11,16 : 24, Taisho Tripitaka Vol. 30, p. 543.

22. Bodhisattvabhumi, p. 101, ln. 18.

23. cf. Pw. The fact that Śaṅkara (ad BS. II, 1, 6) uses the word 'parinişpannatva' must rather be attributed to Buddhist influence.

24. paratantra, II, (p. 198 (p. 162) : III, 1, 87 (p. 66) : III, 13, 6, (p. 433) : paratantratva, I, 62 (p. 25) : III, 3, 4 (p. 99) : III, 7, a, 8 (p. 179).

suggestion he received from the technical language of the Vijñānavada philosophy.

Words which resemble the term '*parikalpitalakṣaṇa*' are also used profusely. The words '*parikalpa*' and '*parikalpita*' are normally used only as Buddhist Sanskrit[25] but the frequency of their occurrence in the Vākyapadīya is exceedingly high.

parikalpa III, 3, 64 (p. 130) (Helarāja annotates this as vikalpa)

parikalpita saṃyogidharmabhedena dese ca parikalpite

teṣu deśeṣu sāmānyam ākāśasyāpi vidyate
(III, 1, 15, p. 20)

ekasya buddhyavasthābhir bhede ca parikalpite
karmatvam kāraṇatvam vā kartṛtvam vopajayate
(III, 7, 102, p. 244)

llanllator grahane bhedo grahyabhyam parikalpitaḥ
(II, 101, p. 124)

There are, in addition, innumerable other passages which could be cited.[26]

Bihtlinck-Roth's dictionary gives only two meanings, 'perfecting' and 'calculation', for the word '*parikalpanā*' and its use in the *Vākyapadīya* is clearly Buddhistic.

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25. From PW.

26. Vākyap. III, 3, 86, (p. 138) : III, 13, 28 (p. 444) : III, 14' 19 (p. 456) : 75 (p. 487) : 264 (p. 589 (p. 722).

(III, 6, 18, p. 168) (III, 7, a, 57, p. 209) (II, 91, p. 121) (II, 133, p. 137) (III, 7, a, 6, p. 178) (III, 7, 119, p. 252)

Further, the neuter form '*parikalpana*' does not appear at all in the aforementioned dictionary but it is used in the *Vākyapadīya* in the same sense as the above term.

(II, 57, p. 90) (III, 7, a, 65, p. 214)

The verbal forms are used in the meanings of 'to discriminate' or 'to imagine' *parikalyet* [II, 221 (p. 171)], *parikalpyate* [I, 62 (p. 25)]; II, 73 (p. 96); II, 139 (p. 139); II, 249 (p. 184); III, 13, 10 (p. 435); III, 14, 255 (p. 574); 391 (p. 632); 617 (p. 737). cf. III, 3, 14 (p. 104).

Thus, although the various terms which resemble the original terms for the threefold nature in the Vijñānavāda are not found together in any one section of the work, nonetheless one must take careful note of the fact that these terms are used in the *Vākyapadīya* with surprisingly greater frequency than was the general trend in Sanskrit works and, further, that these terms were used in a special sense usually restricted to Buddhist works. We may conclude that this is a clear example of the influence of the Vijñānavāda on this work in the usage of terms.

The terms '*adhyāropa*'[27] which is more or less similar in its meaning to '*parikalpa*' is also used (Helarāja

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27. Vākyap. III, 1, 6 (p. 12) : III, 11, 10 (p. 399).

glosses it as *samāropa*).[28] This is originally a technical term of the Vijñānavāda, which has the meaning 'To imagine that something (eg. demons, delusions) exists even though it does not actually exist.'[29]. It is translated as (increase)[30] in Chinese Buddhist texts. This concept is opposed to that of *apavāda* i.e. (To deny the existence of something which actually exists). These terms were formerly[31] thought to be technical terms peculiar to the Advaitavādin, but as I have attempted to show above, they are originally Buddhist, esp. Vijñānavādin, terms and it is from these sources that Bhartṛhari adopted them and incorporated them in his philosophy. In fact, Bhartṛhari's use of these terms is the first example[32] of their use in the extant Vedānta

28. Even in Buddhism the two words samāropa and adhyāropa are used in the same way. For example, Candrakirti annotates the word 'nirvanasamrāopa' which appears at Mādhymik-Sūtra XVI, 10 as nirvānadhyāropa.

29. For example, Madhāntavibhāgatīkā (ed. by S. Yamaguchi, pp. 79, ln. 20 ; 246, ln. 17 ; 239, ln. 2;Madhyamakavṛtti, p. 264, ln. 11 ; ln. 4; 364, In. 9; Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka (ed. by Wogihara), p. 52, ln. 4.

30. The verb 'adhyārohati' means 'To increase' in Buddhist Sanskrit (cf. *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, p. 171, ln. 6). Its causative form means "to superimpose" and its past participle '*adhāropita* is also used quite often. *Triṃsikāvijñaptibhāṣya*, pp. 28, line 29; 35, line 11; Abhisamayālaṅkāloka, p. 66, line 8; Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā, p. 140, line 12; 247, line 10. Cf. Śaṅkara ad BS. I, 2, 17. (Vol. I, p. 203, ln, 4).

31. cf. Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā, pp. 79, ln. 22; 209, ln. 19. Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka, p. 22, ln. 23. It also appears in various other Chinese translations of Vijñānavāda works.

32. As a pre Śaṅkara example there is the phrase quoted at Śaṅkara ad Bhag. G. XIII, 14. See The Development of Vedanta Philosophy, p. 273.

literature. Bhartṛhari also uses the term *'adhyāsa'*[33] which has the same meaning as *'adhyāropa.'*[34]

Bhartṛhari describes the origination of the various forms of the phenomenal world as manifest *'pratyavabhāsate'*[35]. This term is used as a technical and philosophical term in 'Vijñānavādins' doctrine with the meaning 'Various things as if they were existent.'[36] Moreover, in Vijñanavāda the noun *'pratyavabhāsa'* is used with the meaning 'The six senses illumina six objects separately.[37] Similarly, *avabhāsa* and *pratibhāsa* are also technical terms of the *Vijñānavādins*.

By the term *prapañca* Bhartṛhari means 'To express by dint of such the method of concepts as 'one', 'different' the absolute which is by nature beyond verbal expression (*Vākya* III, 1, 20).

This is a typically Buddhist usage. It is translated as 'hsi-lun' in Chinese Buddhist texts. In contrast, the term is used in the Indian philosophic world as a whole to mean 'the phenomenal world' or the 'extent of the world'. There are in addition numerous other terms

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33. cf. PW. adhyāropa. Also cf. Vedāntāsāra 33 ff. falsche Übertragung (Böhtlingk), Aufburdung (Deussen), illusory attribution (Jacob).

34. Vākyap. III, 8, 11 (p. 310); III, 9, 33 (p. 353); adhyasta, III, 8, 107 (pg. 387).

35. Vākyap. III, 1, 36. In MW. the verb form is not given, only the noun form pratyavabhāssai (becoming visible, appéarance) is given, meaning to be in Uttararāmacarita.

36. Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā, p. 232, ln. 20.

37. Triṁśikā-vijñaptibhāṣya p. I8, ln. 18.

which are traceable to Buddhist *Sanskrit*. (That the following words are originally from Buddhist Sanskrit is shown in the notes accompanying 'A Reading of the Māṇḍūkya-Kārikā' in The third volume of my work. *History of Early Vedānta*.

advaya	III, 3, 64, (p. 129)
grāhya[38]	*grāhyatvaṁ grāhakatvaṁ ca dve śakti tejasaḥ* (I, 55, p. 23); also II, 63 (p. 93); II, 101 (p. 124); II, 107 (p. 127)
viparyāsa	I, 17, (p. 8); II, 276 (p. 196); II, 291 (p. 202)
viparyasta[39]	II, 257 (p. 188); II, 258 (p. 189)
viparyaya	I, 156 (p. 61); II, 440 (p. 265); II, 3, 52 (p. 123); III, 3, 59 (p. 126); III, 6, 19 (p. 168); III, 7, 118 (p. 252); III, 10, 7 (p. 394)
viparīta[40]	III, 7, 118 (p. 252)
vikalpita	II, 229 (p. 176), III, 14, 74 (p. 487); 146 (p. 524)
avikalpita[41]	III, p. 72 (p. 132)

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38 See the annotation (The Development of Vedanta Philosophy, p. 470) which refers to GK. (=Gaudapadiya-Karika) IV, 72.

39. The 'Reading' for GK. I, 15 (op. cit., p. 318).

40. See the 'Reading' for GK. IV, 46 (op. cit., p. 405).

41. Following Helāraja and Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha XIII, ln. 255. See the 'Reading' for GK. I, 18 (op. cit., p. 320).

ābhāsa[42] ābhāsopagamo *vyaktiḥ*, III, 7, a, 53 (p. 206).

avabhāsa[43] arthāvabhāsarūpa *hi śabdebhyo jāyate smṛtiḥ/* (II, 424, p. 260).

adhvan[44] *trayo 'dhvānaḥ* III, 9, 52 (p. 361). cf. III, 9, 101 (p. 384).

I have only discussed those terms and passages where the Buddhist characteristics are evident on even the most cursory examination but if one enters into a detailed examination of Bhartṛhari's thought the evidence of Buddhist influence increase overwhelmingly. In terms of research into the history of philosophic speculation it is just this point which deserves greatest attention but I will reserve discussion of it for a later time and will confine myself here to pointing out the enormous Buddhist influence which must be acknowledged to exist merely on the basis of terminology and language.

Section 3 Conclusion

Our investigations conclusively demonstrate that there is a strong element of Buddhist influence in the Vākyapadīya which manifests itself quite conspicuously both conceptually and linguistically. Bhartṛhari carefully scrutinized Buddhist works, listened to the preaching of the Law, and at time, as Gijo relates, even resided for short periods in Buddhist temples. Thus Gijo's

42. See the 'Reading' for GK. IV, 46 (op. cit., 405).

43. cf. rūpasyāvabhāsa iti...avabhāso hi rūpamātrasyābhivyaktikāraṇam. (Madhyāntavibhāgṭīkā, p. 86, ln. 6).

44. See the 'Reading' for GK. IV, 27 (op. cit., p. 438).

claim that Bhartṛhari was well versed in Buddhist doctrine is seen to be well founded. Yet at the same time it must be noted that Gijo's discussion refers only to one aspect of Bhartṛharis a thinker, for it is undeniable that Bhartṛhari saw himself as firmly implanted in the traditional orthodox Brahmin position and thus it is that he devoted such immense energy to the revitalization of grammar which is the foundation of that position. Further, his philosophical position must, as I have noted, be catalogued as part of Vedanta philosophy. Gijo merely placed special emphasis on one feature of Bhartṛhari's thought, namely that he had studied and been influenced by Buddhist thought.

Even the fact that Goho wrote a commentary[1] on Bhartṛhari's Prakirnaka is not due to his regarding the latter's theory as Buddhistic but rather because he regarded traditional grammar as a cultural asset which the various schools could all utilize to advantage. Since grammer, in this sense, was the discipline concerned with the rules of Sanskrit, which was the common language of the educated class in India, it had a character which placed it above religious or academic sectarianism.

There were also not a few Buddhist scholars who were well versed in grammar. The most famous is Chandragomin, but it is also related that Dharmakirti devoted some time to the study of grammar.[2] Chandra-

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1. cf. p. 9 this volume.
2. E. Obermiller; History of Buddhism by Bu-ston, part II, p. 152.

kirti, who wrote a commentary on the Madyamika sastra, and Yasomitra, who wrote a commentary on the Abhidharma-kośa, were both quite familiar with Panini's works and the same can probably be said for Goho.

It has been customary in academic discussion to cite Gaṇḍapada and Śaṅkara as classic examples of Vedanta scholars who were influenced by Mahayana Buddhism. As a result of our investigations, however, we see that there was a thinker of the same stamp, a thinker who was profoundly influenced by Buddhism even though he denounced and criticized it, who existed some time before Saṅkara.

ḌHUṆḌHIRĀJA, THE COMMENTATOR OF THE MUDRĀRĀKṢASAM

M.D. PARADKAR

Palghar (Thana)

Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum speaks of 5 Ḍhuṇḍhirājas who are associated with literary activity. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja, the author of the '*Kāverīstotram*' is certainly different from his namesake who wrote *Caturmāsaprayoga*. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja, the son of Nṛsimha, appears to be a scholar of Astronomy and Astrology as is clear from his works *Grahaphalotputti*, *Gṛhalāghavodhāraṇa*, *Tājīkābhūṣaṇa* and *Tājikābharaṇa*. Another Ḍhuṇḍhiraja with Lallā as the surname is credited with the authorship of *Mṛtapatnīkādhānnā*, *Svargeṣṭirātradrayoga*. It is clear that none among these can be styled as a commentator.

Fortunately Ḍhuṇḍhirāja known as the commentator of the famous play the *Mudrārākṣasam* has given sufficient information about himself in his long introduction consisting of 83 Ślokas. The 21st Sloka[1] therein shows his surname to be Vyāsa and his father's name to be Lakṣmaṇa. He has al o indicated that he wrote

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1. cf. वुधो ढुण्ढिर्नाम्ना जगति विदितो लक्ष्मणसुधी-
मणेः श्रीमद्व्यासान्वयजनश्चिचन्द्रस्यतनयः ।
दधन्मुद्राङ्कं राक्षसमिति नवं नामशुभसं-
विधानं व्याचष्टेऽद्भुतरसमयं नाटकवरम् ॥

this commentary at the behest of Tryaṁbakādhvarin[2] who is reverentially referred to as '*mahāgnicidvijayate śrītryaṁbakāryodhvarī*. The commentary of almost every act closes with words[3] that clearly refer to Ḍhuṇḍhirājavyāsayajvan as a protegee of Śrītryaṁbaka. Aufrecht has also taken care to refer to this Ḍhuṇḍhirāja as Ḍhuṇḍhirājavyāsyajvan. This Tryaṁbakādhvarin appears to have earned a coveted place in the assembly of King Śarabhijī or Sarphojī, the brother Śahājī Bhosle of Tanjor. Students of history know that King Sarphojī ruled Tanjore from 1711 to 1729 A.D. This date agrees well with the colophon at the end of this commentary speaking of it being written in Jaya Saṁvatsara of the Śālivahana Śaka 1665.[4]

Two other works namely *Śāhavilāsa* and *Śahājīvilāsa* are attributed to our author in the Catalogus Catalogorum ; but his fame clearly rests on his commentary on the *Mudrārākṣasam*.

The unique character of Viśākhadatta's *Mudrārākṣasam* is too well known to need elucidation. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja begins his commentary with the apt words viz. '*Kathopoddhātasaṁvidhānavabuddhaye*' before summarising the complicated plot of the play 60 Ślokas. This summary makes it abundantly clear that the play is based

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2. cf. स्फुटं साङ्गं व्याख्यन्नयगुणविदस्त्र्यम्बकविभो-
निर्योगात्प्रौढार्थं बुधगुणमुदे नाटकमिदम् ॥

3. cf. श्रीत्र्यम्बकयज्वभुवर्याश्रितढुन्ढिराजव्यासयज्वविरचिते
मुद्राराक्षसनाटकव्याख्याने पञ्चमोऽङ्कः समाप्तः ।

4. cf. बाणाग्युतुमहीसंख्या मितेब्दे जयनामके ।
ढुन्ढिना व्याकृतं जीयान्मुद्राराक्षसनाटकम् ॥

on the intellectual conflict between Cāṇakya alias Kauṭilya and Rākṣasa the minister of the defeated King Nanda. Our author has successfully tried to increase the curiosity of the readers with the words अत: परं कविर्वस्तु नाटकीयं प्रयोक्ष्यते . He has not failed to attract the attention of his readers to the Śleṣa contained in the verse क्रूरग्रह: स केतु...... of the play.

Ḍhuṇḍhirāja alike all other commentators of Sanskrit plays has followed the method of explaining the import of the words of the playwright ; In addition to this he has accepted the responsibility of commenting on the play in the light of the science of dramaturgy as is evident from his words viz. नाटकं साङ्गं लक्षणपुर:सरं व्याख्यायते' This made it necessary for him to mention नाटकलक्षणानि including अर्थप्रकृति, कार्यावस्था and सन्धि . No wonder, therefore, that he throws light on the purpose of Nandi and adds 'अत्र नाटके वीरो रस: । अतिगहनकौटिल्यनीतिरूपोऽद्भुतो रस: प्रधानमङ्गमन्ये शृंङ्गारकरुणादयो यथायथं द्रष्टव्या: । धीरोदात्तो नायक: । प्रख्यातमितिवृत्तम् ।' The fact that the plot of the play is well-known has been brought out by quoting the relevant passage from *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Bṛhatkathā* and *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka.

The play begins with the stage-direction तत: प्रविशति मुक्तां शिखां परामृशंश्चाणक्य: । Ḍhuṇḍhirāja hastens to add that this is मुखसन्धि combining आरम्भ and बीज . The definition of मुखसन्धि given in Daśarūpaka is aptly quoted Cāṇakya in Act I declares that he is still in the office only for the sake of Chandragupta. According to our author, the word *śāstra* used by him really means *udyoga* and this really is one of the 12 *Aṅgas* of *Mukhasandhi* as is clear from the words अथ बीजन्यास आक्षेप: अङ्गम् । This explanation enables the readers to understand the significance of

Cāṇakya's longish *Svagata*. Similarly in explaining the beginning of प्रतिमुखसन्धि in Act I, our author takes care to point out that the information from the spy bringing the *Yamapaṭa* and the receipt of Rākṣasa's ring are technically *alakṣya* and hence their association with *nāṭyabīja* brings in this सन्धि as is clear from the definition of this Sandhi.[5]

Taking into consideration the complicated nature of the plot of the play, our author has cleverly followed the method of briefly indicating the subject matter of each act before proceeding to comment on it. Thus the remark अथ राक्षसाभिलष्यमाणचाणक्यचन्द्रगुप्तविरोधकथनार्थं विमर्शसन्धिरारभ्यते or the appropriate words viz. अथ चतुर्थेऽङ्के राक्षससंचार संवादरूपा प्रकरी कथ्यते at the beginning of Act IV adequately bring out the significance of these Acts. The commentary on Act IV begins with the apt words इत्थं मलयकेतुनिग्रह रूपमवान्तरकार्यनिर्वहणं कृतम् and the opportune remark at the beginning of Act VI viz. अतः परं राक्षससंग्रहणरूपप्रधानकार्यनिर्वाहार्थं चन्द्रगुप्तलक्ष्मीस्थैर्यरूपस्य महाफलस्य सिद्ध्यर्थं षष्ठसप्तमाङ्कावारभ्यते cannot be adequately praised. Remarks of this type clearly indicate the author's discerning study of and acumen in Nāṭyaśāstra.

In keeping with the practice of *pūrvasūris* in the field, Ḍhuṇḍhirāja quotes from words used by the playwright. Quotations such as तन्त्रं स्वराष्ट्रचिन्तायां शास्त्रौषधमयोषिति वैजयन्ती or नभः श्रावणिकश्च इत्यमरः are cases in point. At times he fails not to bring out the appropriate and happy use of cases on the part of the dramatist by quoting rules like कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे or जाविष्टवद् भावेन मनुषो लोपः etc.

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5. cf. लक्ष्यालक्ष्यबीजस्य व्यक्तिः प्रतिमुखं मतम् ।

Figures of speech such as *Upama*, *Vyatireka* employed by the dramatist in the different verses of the play are also explained.

More significant than these is the carefulness of our author in throwing light upon the mood of various characters. Thus in Act I Cāṇaykya is exasperated on hearing the words of Sūtradhāra suggestive of the good of Nandas and he calls on Śārṅgarava twice. Dhuṇḍhiraja cleverly adds कार्यसंरंभवैयग्रहेण द्विरुक्तिः शाङ्ग वेरति। Once Cāṇakaya angry with the disciple for being late in offering him a seat utters the words वत्स, उपवेष्टुमिच्छामि by way of an answer to उपाध्याय श्राज्ञापय। Dhuṇḍhirāja's comment on this viz. इदमुपालम्भगर्भवचनम्। अधुनाप्यासनं त्वया न सज्जीकृतमित्याशयः is indeed apt. Act VII depicts the scene of Candanadāsa being led to *vadhasthāna*. His retort to the pathetic query of his son viz. पुत्र चाणक्यविरहिदे देसे वासिदव्वम् speaks of his character. Here Dhuṇḍhirāja's comment on the word चाणक्क viz चाणक्क इत्यनेन चाणक्यस्यात्यान्तं क्रौर्यमुक्तम् is singularly happy. At times he has shown his carefulness in discussing *Pāṭhabhedas* and has no hesitation in making the remark इयमार्या प्रक्षिप्ता in case of the verse उवरि घणं घणरडियं......which appears to be artificial. The word कुमारसेवक......in the play is rightly explained as कौमारमारभ्य सेवन इति। The same is the case with the Prakrit word चडपडन्त explained as देशीयं क्लिश्यमानमित्यर्थः। The exact significance of the two verses uttered by Cāṇakya's spy carrying *yamapaṭa* can only be understood from the apt comment of our author viz. अनेन गीतिद्वयेन चाणक्यस्य यमवत्क्रूरस्य स्वपक्षपरपक्षानुग्रह विग्रहसामर्थ्यं द्योतयन् स्वस्य गूढचरत्वं द्योतयति।

In spite of these obvious merits Dhuṇḍhirāja's commentary contains many a lacuna. In the play, the

author Viśākhadatta has used many technical terms from *Rājanītiśāstra* such as *tīkṣṇa* ; *rasada*, *yogapūrṇa*, *Viṣakanyā* etc. Our author has not explained them. The same is the case with words from *Tarkaṣāstra* that occur in the play. This compares unfavourably with the commentaries of Mallinātha or Jagaddhara which show their proficiency in different branches of learning such as *Vyākaraṇa Alaṅkāraśāstra*. If Ḍhuṇḍhirāja quotes from only a couple of lexicons like Amarakośa or Vaijayantī, Mallinātha quotes from at least a dozen lexicons including *Viśva*, *Medinī* etc. Hence among Sanskrit commentators, Ḍhuṇḍirāja can be styled as a star of 'second magnitude'. His chief merit lies in explaining the complicated plot of the Mudrārākṣasam in a language that is reminiscent of the details of Sanskrit dramaturgy.

FREQUENCY COUNT AND SAMPLING METHODS

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Linguists have been using sampling methods for studying the relative frequencies of phonemes, graphemes and other linguistic units such as morphemes and words. Since the results of these studies have many practical applications such as language teaching, preparation of improved keyboards for the typewriters, better formulated shorthand systems and so on, it would be interesting to compare and evaluate the relative effeciencies of these sampling methods with special reference to linguistic studies.

Linguists have undertaken a number of statistical studies to determine the relative frequencies of linguistic elements. For example, we have the studies of Whitney (1893), Dewey (1923), and Haydan (1950) for the English language, Josselson (1953) for the Russian language, Bhagwat (1961) for Marathi, Ghatage (1964) for Hindi and Pandit (1965) for Gujarati. The common feature of most of these studies is the belief of the scholars in the hugeness of the sample to be collected. (Most of them contain a lakh or more words in all). Secondly, the studies have generally used what is called the systematic sampling procedure for gathering the samples.

It has been proved beyond doubt, however, that the hugeness of the sample collected does not in itself

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guareteen the reliability of the values one has obtained. In a sample study of a limited nature, the mistakes could be controlled with the help of statistical theories. In the counting of huge samples, however, the mistakes will proportionately be magnified. For obtaining the best results, one should conduct pilot sampling studies and work out the most favourable sample size (which may depending on the nature of the corpus to be studied). It was found that for the purpose of determining the phonemic and graphemic frequencies, a sample of 600 words or 4,000 phonemes is adequate, because, the results derived with the help of such a sample were in general consistent with those of the previous studies carried out with approximately 5 lakh phonemes (or one lakh words).

There are mainly three different types of sampling methods which are of use for linguistic studies. We may call them as (1) systematic sampling procedure (2) simple random sampling procedure and (3) two-stage random sampling procedure.

As an illustration of the systematic sampling procedure, one may cite the Gujarati frequency count of Professor Pandit. He has selected a sample of 1,00,000 words gathered from books, radio programme materials and newspapers. (1) Books published between 1938 and 1947 were listed and a sample of 28,500 words were collected from them, by noting down every 20th word of every 10th page of every 10th book of the list, (2) 21,500 words were collected from the radio programmes belonging to the months of July, August and September 1958, by noting down every 20th word of the running

script. (3) 49,687 words were collected from the dailies and weeklies published during March-December 1958 by noting down every 20th word occurring in the first and last page of each newspaper.

For applying the simple random samplihg procedure, one uses a set of random numbers such as the one given by Fisher and Yates (1943) in their statistical tables, and selects samples (words, syllables or sentences) from the corpus in hand. The table on page 5 of this book, for example, contains this following set of numbers; 2519, 2303, 5585, 6845, 6931, 3731, 6642, 3365, 7632 and so on. If one is to select sentences from a book of 100 pages containing 30 sentences in each page, one should number the sentences serially in each page and then select the samples as follows: random number 2519; sentence 29th of the 83rd page; 2302: sentence 22nd of the 76th page; 5585: sentence 5th of the 186th page; 6845: sentence 5th of the 228th page and so on.

In a two-stage random sampling procedure, the above random numbers are to be used twice. i. e., the samples gathered by the simple random sampling procedure will be used as a corpus from which samples are to be obtained by the application of the random numbers for a second time. If a book containing thousand pages is given for sampling, one may select the pages first with the help of the random numbers and the words may be collected from each of these pages, again by using the random numbers.

An experiment was recently conducted to evaluate the relative effeciencies of these three sampling procedures from the point of view of phonemes and graphemes

and frequencies counts. A Marathi book containing 327 pages was selected for this purpose, and all the three sampling procedures were separately applied to this corpus and the resultant frequency values of a set of phonemes and graphemes were worked out.

A statistical evaluation of the results obtained by these three methods pointed out that out of these three procedures, the two-stage random sampling is the best in a majority of the cases studied, and the simple random sampling procedure is better than the systematic sampling procedure.

(Note : For further details, please see the author's monograph entitled, *The Determination of Phonemic and Graphemic Frequencies by Samplng Techniques, Published* by the Deccan College).

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SĀYAṆA'S SUBHĀṢITASUDHĀNIDHI AND SŪRYA PAṆDITA'S SŪKTIRATNAHĀRA[1]

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In XXVI. 1.2 (Jan.-Apr. 1971), pp. 167 ff. Dr. L. Sternbach published a paper under the title given above in which he discussed the relation of the two anthologies mentioned. The conclusion which he ventured to put forth namely that the two are identical, i.e. the two represent one and the same work, is not borne out by the facts. He makes a further statement that 'this (single) anthology may well be by Sāyaṇa "since it is unlikely that Sūrya Kāliṅgarāya...... .... could have been the real compiler of the *Sūktiratnahāra*." Why it is unlikely, Dr. Sternbach neither says nor proves.

The following points noted by Dr. Sternbach himself go against his assumption that the two are identical.

1. The order of the *paddhatis* in the two are often different.

2. One of the *parvans*, that devoted to *Kāma*, is much longer in the *SSSN* and several *paddhatis* here contain quite different *subhāṣitas*.

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1. It is Sūktiratnahāra, not Subhāṣita°.

3. A few *paddhatis* figure in the two texts in different *parvans*.

4. The order of the *subhāṣitas* and often the readings differ in the two texts.

5. The compilers of the *two* texts have shown some individuality in their compilatory work.

6. The *SRHt* has numerous Prākṛt *subhāṣitas* whereas *SSSN* has them seldom.

7. A few *paddhatis* of the *SRHt* and the *subhāṣitas* therein are not found in the *SSSN*.

How in the face of the above facts which he himself has pointed out, Dr. Sternbach could take the two texts as identical is puzzling. In fact, Dr. Strenbach is not sure of his finding for he repeatedly refers to the *two* compilers and says on p. 174 that the '*SRHt* is more complete and superior to *SSSN*.' If the two texts are identical, where is the question of one being more complete and superior to another.

The editor of the *SSSN* for the Karnatak University says (p. 16, Intro.) that 'among the *later* writers who are indebted to this work (*SSSN*) very much Sūrya Paṇḍita, author of *Subhāṣitaratnahāra* (mistake for *Sūkti*°) (published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) deserves first mention.' In my critical study of the *SRHt* based on the printed text and two mss. not used for the TSS edn., published in the *JOR.* Madras (XIII. 293-306), I have discussed, among other things, the date and authorship of the anthology. From what I have shown, it would be clear that the *SRHt.* is earlier and *SSSN* is

later and the editor of the *SSSN* has simply not looked into the question at all. That he has not done justice to his editorial job has been pointed out by Dr. Sternbach but we need not enter into that matter, as we are concerned now with the question of the existence of two texts or of only one text. Dr. Strenbach mentions more than once that the *SSSN* is later and the *SRHt* earlier; e.g. on p. 174: '*SRHt* is original and *SSSN* a copy of *SRHt* with various additions and omissions'.

The following further data may also be borne in mind when considering this question of the identity and difference of the two texts : *SRHt* has a character of its own, the chief feature of which is the mention of the authors and works from whom it draws. Although there are discrepancies in the citations of sources, these citations of sources from the most useful aspect of anthologies.

Sāyaṇa, Mādhava and Vidyāraṇya are names associated with a large library of works - covering all branches of Sanskrit literature, - of several of which they were just sponsors, as influential Ministers and figures at the Court, the actual authors commissioned to do the different works being different scholars. A series of works in this corpus goes by the title '*sudhānidhi*' e.g. *Alaṅkārasudhānidhi*, *Ayurveda*°, *Yajñatantra*°, and so on. The scholar or scholars set on the task of compiling a *Subhāṣita-sudhānidhi* should have seized a ready source in the *SRHt* and drawn upon it freely. To give some individuality to his or their compilation, he or they should have omitted several verses in *SRHt*, and also

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added several not found in *SRHt* but found in some other sources. To minimise his or their labour, the compiler or compilers omitted considerably the Prākṛt selections of *SRHt*,-a unique feature of the *SRHt*-, and left out all citation of sources, thereby reducing unfortunately the value of his or their work. Such 'copying work' is not uncommon in several branches of Sanskrit literature. Dr. Sternbach is right when he says (p. 172) that 'the work of the compiler of *SSSN* in rather sloppy.'

That there is considerable common material and even a common plan is no evidence, particularly in the field of anthologies, of the identity of two texts, like the two we are discussing.[2] As I have shown, *SRHt* itself draws much from the Vallabhadeva's *Subhaṣitāvali*; the *Vidagdhajanavallabhā* is another anthology which does the same thing, as may be seen from my study of that anthology.[3]

Therefore there are really two anthologies, and not one only; of the two, the *SRHt* is earlier and superior; the *SSSN* is latter and a rehash of the *SRHt*.

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2. Reference is made by Dr. Strenbach to three-feet verses found in both; this is of no value as evidence for the question under discussion. Such run-on lines cannot be avoided when extracting material from the two Epics.

3. J. of the Kerala University Oriental Mss. Library, Trivandrum, XII. i-ii. 1963—Silver Jubilee Volume—pp. 133-154.

KERALA LITERATURE ON JYOTIṢA

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1. *Introductory.*

The extensive Jyotiṣa literature produced in Kerala, in Sanskrit and in Malayalam, of which latter is the regional language of that part of India, comprise of original treatises, expositions of individual topics, commentaries on standard texts, computation manuals, minor tracts, single verses and manifold mnemonic tables. A good part of the shorter tracts and other secondary literature which do not form full-fledged works have been lost and what survives of this type of literature has to be looked for in flyleaves and folios of cordices where such matter is generally found written. The definitive literature, too, has been affected considerably. The full extent of the literary activity in this line is not adequately known, much less recognised, for reasons of subject, script and language. However, an idea of this literary production could be judged from an examination of the surviving literature, a documented Bibliography of which is given in Chapter V, of the *History of the Kerala School of Hindu Astronomy*, by the present writer. It may be noted that this Bibliography carries references to the manuscripts, editions and studies of about 450 works on astronomy, astrology and mathematics and details of about 100 authors and authorities.

1. Pub., Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1972.

2. *Earlier documentation*

Some efforts have been made to take stock of the astronomical and allied literature of Kerala, though these attempts have hardly succeeded in giving any adequate idea of the extent of this literature. Thus, K. K. Raja's well-documented paper on 'Astronomy and mathematics in Kerala: An account of the literature'[2] takes into its purview only some of the more prominent authors in these two disciplines numbering about 20 and their works numbering about 80, S. N. Sen's *Bibliography of Sanskrit works on astronomy and mathematics*,[3] restricts itself to Sanskrit works and, there too, carries the documentation of just 13 Kerala authors and 47 works. The major histories of Kerala literature, *viz.*, *Keralīya Sāhitya Charitram* by Ulloor S. Parameswara Aiyar,[4] *Keralīya Samskrita Sāhitya Charitram*,[5] and *Kerala Sāhitya Charitram: Carccayum Pūraṇavum*,[6] both by Vaṭakkumkūr Rajaraja Varma, and *Kerala Bhāshā Sāhitya Charitram* by R. Narayana Panikkar,[7] especially the first three, notice a much larger number of works and authors, though they, too, fail to do full justice to the subject. Nearly half of the literature on Jyotiṣa produced in the land do not

2. *Adyar Library Bulletin* 27 (1963) 118-67.

3. Part I: *Manuscripts, Texts, Translations and Studies*, National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi-1, 1966.

4. Pub., University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 5 vols., 1953-57.

5. Pub., Vol. I, Kamalalaya Book Depot, Trivandrum, M.E. 1113 (A.D. 1938) Vols. II-VI, Mangalodayam, Trichur, M. E. 1122-40 (A.D. 1947-65).

6. Pub., 2 vols., Mangalodayam, Trichur, 1967-69.

7. Pub., 7 Vols., Vidyavilasini Book Depot, Trivandrum, ? 1951.

find a mention in these volumes. Moreover, the accounts given in these histories are not documented and arc, mostly, distributed in different volumes. Neither do these histories, except that of Ulloor, carry any index to help the reader in locating a work or an author dealt with therein. In the following pages, an attempt has been made to take notice of the broad trends and nature of the literature produced in this discipline. In order that the picture of Kerala Jyotiṣa might be presented in full, the account given below is not restricted to astronomy and mathematics but is made to include also the allied discipline of astrology which constitutes the applied aspect of astronomy.

3. *The Classical texts.*

Some scholars have claimed that the foremost Indian astronomer Āryabhaṭa hailed from Kerala. Though this claim yet remains to be fully authenticated, the popularity of the *Āryabhaṭīya* among Kerala astronomers is apparent from the profusion of manuscripts of that work recorded from this region[8] and from as many as eleven commentaries on it, in Sanskrit and Malayalam, written by Kerala astronomers, the more important among them being those composed by Sūryadeva Yajvan, Parameśvara of Vataśreṇi, Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāri and Ghaṭīgopa.[9] Two other texts of the Āryabhaṭan school,

8. Of about 120 manuscripts of *Āryabhaṭīya* recorded in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit and allied works and authors*, Vol. II, (Madras, 1966), p. 171, as many as 85 are from Kerala.

9. For details of the manuscripts, editions, extent, dates and available studies on these works, as also of other works that might be referred to below see CH. IV, 'Bibliography of Kerala works on Astronomy etc.', in the *History of the Kerala school of Hindu astronomy*, by K. V. Sarma, *op. cit.*

viz., the *Laghubhāskarīya* and the *Mahābhāskarīya* of Bhāskara I, of which, too, most of the recorded manuscripts are from Kerala, have been equally popular in the land. There are seven Karalite commentaries on the former, by Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Sūryadeva Yajvan, Parameśvara, Udayadivākara and Śaṅkaran Nampūtiri the others being anonymous. The latter work has five Keralite commentaries, including those by Govindasvāmin, Sūryadeva Yajvan and Parameśvara. The other classical astronomical texts which were popular in Kerala are the *Sūryasiddhānta* which claims three Kerala commentaries, and the *Laghumānasa* of Muñjāla, which has at least four Kerala commentaries. The most popular text book on mathemathics has been the *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskara II, for which at least thirteen commentaries, besides several other works based on it, have been recorded. On the side of horary astrology, the *Horā* of *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira enjoyed the greatest popularity; seventeen commentaries on this work by Kerala authors have been identified; besides, there are also several abridgements and adaptations of that work. On this subject, the *Jātakakarmapaddhati* of Śrīpati, which has three Kerala commentaries, has also been quite popular and in *Praśna* (Astrological enquiry), the pride of place goes to the *Praśna-ṣaṭpañcāśikā* of Pṛthnyaśas with two Kerala commentaries.

3. *Major works on Astronomy*

A number of original texts on astronomy, dealing with all the main topics of the subject, have been identified. Some of them, like the *Tantrasaṅgraha* of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji, the *Tantraśara* of Nārāyaṇa of Peruvanam and

the *Sadratnamālā* of Śaṅkara-Varman, belong to the *tantra* type of treatises which take the beginning of the Kali era as the starting point for astronomical calculations. The bulk of the original texts are, however, of the *karaṇa* type, which use some convenient contemporary date as the epoch for starting the calculations enunciated by them, a device made of by modern astronomy as well. This date is so chosen that at the ending moment of that day, *i. e.*, at the beginning (*sunrise*) of the next day, the Mean Moon (*Candra*) and Mean Higher Apsis (*Candra-tuṅga*) are in the same position or very close to each other, so that the days accumulated up to the epoch (called *Khaṇḍa-dina* or *śodhya-dina*) could be subtracted in 'full' from the current *Kalidina*. The Mean positions of the Sun, Moon and other planets etc. are determined very accurately for the epoch and the readings so obtained are used as zero corrections for all computations for any date after the epoch. The *Grahacāranibandhana* of Haridatta, the basic *karaṇa* text of the *Parahita* system of astronomy, however, uses the date of Āryabhaṭa as the epoch, and the *Dṛggaṇita* of Parameśvara, the basic text of the *Dṛk* system, uses the beginning of Kali as its epoch. Some of the *karaṇa* texts are mere manuals giving rules for specific astronomic computations while some others like the *Karaṇapaddhati* of Putumana Somayāji, are fullfledged textbooks on the subject. Among the more important *karaṇa* texts may be mentioned the *Karaṇāmṛta* of Citrabhānu, which has three commentaries, the *Karaṇasāra* with commentary, possibly, by Śaṅkara Vāriyar pupil of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājin, the anonymous *Karaṇadarpaṇa* with three commentaries, *Karaṇottama* of Acyuta Piṣāraṭi with two commentaries, of which one is by the author himself, the anynomous *Laghukālārpaṇa*

anonymous *Kriyāsaṅgraha*, with two commentaries. Several *karaṇa* texts have the generic title *Pañcabodha*. Ten of them have been identified.

Most of these are anonymous and only three of the authors could be identified, they being Putumana Somayāji Puruṣottama and Kṛṣṇadāsa. These *Pañcabodha-s* have been very popular with the almanac-makers of the land and most of these claim commentaries, as well. The *Pañcabodha-s* generally contain five sections dealing with five astronomical topics. The topics treated are not, however, always the same. Thus *Pañcabodha* II deals with *Vyatīpāta*, *Mauḍhya*, *Chāya*, *Śṛṅgonnati* and *Grahṇa*, while *Pañcabodha* II deals with *Tithi*, *Vāra*, *Nakṣatra Yoga* and *Karaṇa*. Again, to deal with only five topics is not the rule in these works; the number of topics dealt with could be less or more than five. For instance, *Pañcabodha* V or *Pañcabodhaśataka* of Puruṣottama, in 100 verses, contains only two sections and *Pañcabodha* I is in ten sections, dealing with *Tithinakṣatra*, *Vākyadhruva*, *Madhyama*, *Sphuṭakriyā*, *Lāṭavaidhṛta*, *Mauḍhya*, *Sūryacchāyā*, *Somacchāyā*, *Śṛṅgonnati* and *Grahaṇa*. The *Bhadradīpagaṇita* of Iṭakramañceri Nampūtiri and the *Gaṇitasāra* or *Pañcabodha-gaṇitasāra* of Śaṅkaran Nampūtiri of Mahiṣamaṅgalam, both in Malayalam, are also comprehensive treatises.

Several of the *karaṇa* texts are smaller tracts devoted only to one or two topics like *Vyatīpada*, *Vaidhṛti*, *Saṅkrama*, *Adhimāsa* etc. Three amongst these topics, *viz.*, Computation of the Moon, Eclipses and Shadow, seem to have attracted the special attention of Kerala astronomers and, as a result, a large number of manuals

have come to be composed on these subjects. Some of these works attempt also at evolving new processes, offer new corrections and give the rationale to the procedures adopted. Most of these texts are anonymous.

4. *Computation of the Moon*

The fact that the calculation of the exat *tithi* (lunar day) and *nakṣatra* (asterism) at any moment depends upon the accurate knowledge of the Moon at that moment and that all the three, *viz., tithi, nakṣatra* and Moon, are always required for the fixation of social and religious functions, in horoscopy and in the computation of eclipses etc. is enough to explain the importance given to the computation of the Moon. But the fast motion of the Moon, amounting to about 13 degrees a day, and the consequent quick change of its position during the same day required special consideration in its correct computation. A good number of *karaṇa* text, devoted specifically for the computation of the Moon, have, therefore, been composed. Among the more important manuals of this type may be mentioned the *candra-sphuṭa-gaṇita* with a commentary and a super-commentary; *candra-sūrya-sphuṭa,-ganita, Candra-sphuṭādi-gaṇita, Śuddha-candra-kriyā-gaṇita, Śrāddha-candrādi-gaṇita* and *Sūkṣma-candra-sphuṭādi-gaṇita,* all anonymous.

5. *Venvāraha method for the Moon*

Of all heavenly bodies, the Moon has not only the fastest motion, but also the maximum changes in its velocity during the same day. Therefore, the computation of the Moon at some intermediate time during the day, if calculated on the basis of its true position and motion at sunrise or at sunrise and sunset, as advocated in some

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Pañcabodha texts, would not give accurate results. An ingenious but facile method for the determination of the Moon at any time of the day with high accuracy has been evolved by the 14th century Kerala astronomer Mādhava of Saṅgamagrāma in his work called *Veṇvāroha*. He has also enunciated accurate- moon-mnemonics, correct to the seconds, for being used in the *Veṇvāroha* method. His method seems to have caught the fancy also of later astronomers who have extended the method further to yield still more accurate results. At least four later works of this genre have been identified, they being *Candra-sphuṭāpti*, *Veṇvāroha kriyā* and *Dṛg-Veṇvārohakriyā* all anonymous, and *Veṇvārohāṣṭaka* of Putumana Somayaji.

6. *Computation of Eclipses.*

A branch of astronomy in which intense investigations have been made by Kerala astronomers refers to the computation of eclipses. The phenomenon of eclipses seems to have been exploited fully towards verifying calculations, instituting corrections and devising new methodologies. Parameśvara of *Dṛggaṇita* fame is known to have scanned the heavens for full fiftyfive years and to have recorded information about a large number of eclipses which occurred during the period. Apart from minor tracts, a number of texts on the computation of eclipses have come down. These include three works having the common title *Uparāgakriyākrama*, the first by Nārāyana with commentary, the second by Acyuta Piṣārati, with two commentaries, and a third, which is anonymous; an *Uparāgaviṁśati* with commentary; *Grahaṇamaṇḍana* by parameśvara; six anonymous works with the common title *Grahṇa-gaṇita*, five works under the title

Gvahaāaṣṭaka, one of which is by Parameśvara and the others anonymous; and the three works, *Gandra-grahṇaa-gaṇita*, *Candra-sūrycperāga-geṇita* and *Sñrya-grahṇa-gedita*, all anonymous. Two works on eclipses which deserve special mention are the *Grahaṇa-nyāya-dīpikā* of parameś-vara, *Grahaṇ -grontha* (*Grahaṇāmisnaya*) by Nilakaṇṭha Somayāji, which is an elaborate disquisition on the taa-ditiou and rationale of computing eclipses.

7. *Computation of the Shadow.*

Computation of the positions of the Sun and the Moon from the Shadow (*Chāyā*) cast by them and vice versa had practical utility in the social and religious life of the people of mediaeval times. Besides calculations made on the basis of the *Śaṅku* (gnomon), intrinsic calculations involving the *Mahācchāyā* (Great Shadow or Sine Zenith distance) and the *Mahāśañku* (Great gno-mon or Sine Altitude) had been developed in this behalf. Some of the *Pañcabodhas* and other *karaṇa* texts men-tioned above have sections devoted to Shadow computa-tion. Besides these, several independent works devoted solely to this subject have also been produced. Among the works of this category may be mentioned six different works, all entitled *Candracchāyā-gaṇita*, one of these being by Parameśvara, another by Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji and the others anonymous; four of these works have also commentaries. Other works on the subject include the *Chāyāgaṇita*, *Chāyāgraha-gaṇita*, *Chāyādigaṇita* and three different works having the common title *Sūryacchāyadi-gaṇita*' Piṣarati,too, has written a succinct work on the subject, entitled *Chāyāṣṭakam*.

8. *Long range almanacs*

In the matter of preparing annual almanacs, while the general trend in Kerala, as elsewhere, has been to prepare them for one year at a time, efforts had been made to prepare long range almanacs covering long periods. It has been recorded that Mādhava of Saṅgamagrāma compiled an *Agaṇita-pañcāṅga*[10] which is, probably, the same as referred to in the *Karaṇapaddhati* (IV. 14, 16, 18) and preserved in the Kerala University Oriental Research Institute under the title *Agaṇigrahacāra*. Śaṅkaran Nampūtiri of Mahiṣamaṅgalam is credited with a Register of Muhūrtas for 1000 years.[11] The *Agaṇita* of Nalleppalli Subrahmaṇya Śāstri enunciates methods for the facile computation of the planets for a thousand years.

Astronomical rationale

An extremely significant class of astronomical treatises from Kerala refers to disquisitions on the rationale of astronomical formulae and procedures. Short expositions of this nature occur in commentarial literature, especially in the commentaries of Parameśvara, Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji and Nārāyaṇa, author of *Kriyākarmakarī* on the *Līlāvatī*. Single or groups of verses and short tracts pertaining to the expositions of specific points or procedures are often found inscribed, without indication

10. This reference occurs in an astronomical document preserved in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, *Cf.* K.V. Sharma, 'Direct lines of astronomical tradition in Kerala' *Pt. Charudeva Shastri Felicitation Volume*, New Delhi, 1972.

11. Ulloor, *Kerala Sahitya Charitram*, Vol. II, (Trivandrum, 1954), p. 272.

of source or author, in end-leaves of astronomical codices; these go mostly unnoticed or ignored by cataloguers of manuscripts. It would, indeed, be highly worthwhile to record, study and analyse these passages with a view to see if some of them contain anything important. In this connection, the discovery of some full-fledged treatises devoted to the exposition astronomical of theories and processes ought to be highly interesting to scholars and historians of mathematics. These texts, which, generally, have the words *yukti* or *nyāya* 'rationale' attached to their titles, explain, interpret and discuss the formulae used and procedures followed in the topics which they deal with. Among works of this nature may be mentioned the *Grahaṇa-nyāya-dīpikā* on the computation of eclipses and *Vākyakaraṇa* on the formulation of astronomical mnemonics, both by Parameśvara of Vataśreṇi, the *Yuktibhāṣā* and *Gāṇita-yuktibhāṣā*, the former and, possibly, the latter, too, by Jyeṣṭhadeva, the *Nyāyaratna* by Putumana Somayāji, the *Gaṇita-yuktayaḥ* by an anonymous 'Bhāradvāja brahman' and the *Rāśi-gola-sphuṭānīti* on 'Reduction to the ecliptic' by Acyuta Piśāraṭi. The *Sundararāja-praśnottara* by Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji, in which he gives his solutions to certain problems of astronomical theory and practice raised by a contemporary astronomer Sundararāja of the Tamil country, also belongs to this category of works.

10. *Practical astronomy.*

Astronomy being a practical science, progress in that discipline in incumbant no less on computational skill than on practical observation. Several works including the *Goladīpikā* I of Parameśvara and the *Bhadra-dīpa* of Iṭakramañceri Nàmpūtiri contain sections on the

construction and use of the armillary sphere. The commentaries of Parameśvara and Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji carry references to their lifelong astronomical observations. By far the most interesting treatise in this line is the *Grahaparīkṣākrama* of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayājin, in about two hundred verses. There is also a detailed Malayalam commentary on this work. An equally interesting, though late work is *Nāzhikamaṇiyuṭe yukti*, which is a detailed exposition of the working of the pendulum clock.

11. *Revision of astronomical constants*

As indicated earlier, the composers of *karaṇa* texts generally introduced in their works contemporary epochs. Sometimes they also enuciated corrections to the astronomical constants, and to the sine tables which they incorporated in their works. A work solely devoted to the enunciation of corrected constants is the *Siddhāntadarpaṇa* of Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji, wherein he has set out the number of revolutions of the planets, and their higher apses, ascending nodes, maximum latitudes, velocities etc., as investigated and verified by him. He has also written an elaborate commentary on this work. Then again, there exist a large number of manuscripts which form collections of sine tables and other mnemonics and are catalogued in libraries under generic titles like *Jyāḥ*, *Jyotiṣavākyāni* etc. on account of their not being full-fledged and independent works these collections are potential sources of additions and novelties to the well-known mnemonics and, so, deserve to be examined from this point of view.

Mathematics

The *Līlāvatī* of Bhāskara II, with thirteen Kerala commentaries, has remained, as indicated earlier, the most popular textbook on general mathematics. Among indigenous works, some of the astronomical treatises like *Yuktibhāṣā*, *Bhadradīpa* etc. deal with general mathematics in some of their sections. An interesting summary of the general mathematical processes is contained in an anonymous work entitled *Ekaviṁśatipraśnakrama*. Other works solely devoted to the treatment of mathematics are *Kaṇakkatikāram*, with commentary, two works having the same title *Kaṇakkusāram*, one in prose and the other in verse, both with commentaries, *Kaṇakkucodyam* and *Kaṇakkuśāstram*, all anonymous.

13. *Horary astrology*

While the classical texts on *Jātaka* used in Kerala were the *Bṛhajjātaka* of Varāhamihira and the *Jātakakarmapaddhati* of Śrīdhara, the most popular indigenous text on the subject was the *Jātakapaddhati* of Parameśvara of Vaṭaśreṇi, which has as many as eight commentaries and the *Jātakādeśamārga* of Putumana Somayāji. From among other works which enjoyed varied popularity, may be mentioned the *Jātakakarma* and *Jātakasāra* of Śaṅkaran Nampūtiri of Mahiṣamaṅgalam the *Jatakānītimārga* and *Jatakasārasaṅgraha* by Āzvāñceri Tamprākkal and the anonymous *Jātakodaya*.

13. *Auspicious times* (*Muhūrta*)

Practically all the texts popular in Kerala, enunciating the fixation of auspicious times (*muhūrtas*), for the numerous religious and social ceremonies, are of

indigenous origin. The *Muhūrtadarśana* of Vidyamādhava of Nīlamana near Gokarṇa, with six commentaries, and the *Muhūrtaratna* of Govinda Bhaṭṭatiri of Talakkulattūr, with its commentary by Parameśvara of Vaṭaśreṇi, are the early texts of this category. But, by far the most popular works on the subject are two *Muhūrtapadavī-s* written by two brothers of the Mattūr family in Cochin, whose names, have, hitherto, remained unknown, but can be identified as Puruṣottama and Subrahamaṇya. The popularity of these two *Muhūrtapadavi-s* can be judged from the profusion of manuscripts of these works available and the seven commentaries composed on them.[12]

14. *Astrological query* (*Praśna*)

The branch of astrology called *Praśna* has been very popular in Kerala where many a new technique and practice has been evolved. The classical work on the subject which was popular in the land was the *Praśnaṣaṭpañcāśikā* of Pṛthuyaśas, son of Varāhamihira, which claims two good Kerala commentaries. There has, however, been substantial literary production in consonance with the high popularity of its practice. Here too, several treatises comprehending all aspects of *Praśna* and many others which specialised items have come to be composed. The most important work of the former category is the *Praśnamārga* by a Nampūtiri of the Panakkaṭṭu family, possibly named Parameśvara. Numerous manuscripts of this work and of the four

12. To cite but one instance, the Kerala Oriental Res. Inst. and Mss. Library holds in its collections not less than 103 of these manuscripts as recorded in their Catalogoues.

commentaries on it have been recorded. A good number of later works have been based on it or take it as the Chief authority. Other full-fledged works on *Praśna* include three treatises with the identical title *Praśnasāra*, one by Śaṅkara, the second by a Somayāji of Bhūtanāthapura and the third by Mādhava of Īñcakkāzhvā family, two works of the name *Praśnānuṣṭhānapaddhati*, both anonymous, *Prvśnāmṛta* of Śrīkumāra, *Praśnāyana* of Puruṣottama with auto-commentary, *Praśnamālā*, possibly by Śaṅkara Nampūtiri of Mahiṣamaṅgalam, with commentary, two works entitled *Praśnarīti*, one by Dāmodaran Nampūtiri of Maṅgalaśśeri and the other by Iṭakkāṭṭu Kūkkaṇiyāl and three different works of the name *Praśnalakṣaṇa*, all anonymous. Among works dealing with individual subjects, there are a large number devoted to topics like *Aṣṭamaṅgala*, *Āyus*, *Āyudha*, *Pakiṭa*, *Roga* etc.

15. *Natural astrology*

Of classical texts on natural astrology, the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira and *Parāśarasaṁhitā*, attributed to sage Parāśara were generally known, bcsides *Lampāka* by Padmanābha, a later work well known in the whole of South India. Among works on natural astrology produced in Kerala, a mention might be made of *Sāmudrikasāra* of Śaṅkara, with two commentaries, two anonymous *Sāmudrikalakṣaṇa-s* and *Raṇadīpikā* by Kumāra. The last-mentioned work which, in eight chapters, deals in detail with the preparation for and conduct of war, is particularly significant. Some works deal with individual topics like *Bhūparikṣā*, *Rekhāśāstra* etc. and some others with special types of prognostication like *Naraceṣṭā*, *Pakṣiśāstra* etc,

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16. *Malayalam versions of Sanskrit texts*

It is interesting to note that almost all *Jyotiṣa* works in Sanskrit have one or more commentaries or renderings in Malayalam, produced, obviously, with a view to facilitating their study among the non-Sanskrit knowing public. This is a feature found in certain other regions of India as well. The Malayalam versions are generally called the *Bhāṣā* of the works concerned. Often the author of the original work prepares this *Bhāṣā* himself and at other times, others. There have also been adaptations and abridgements of Sanskrit works. A very instructive instance of this trend is found in the works of an Āzhāñceri Tamprākkal of the last century who, in a series of works, adapted a number of important Sanskrit texts and also provided the Malayalam renderings for these adaptations. Thus, his *Phalasārasamuccaya*, in three parts, forms, in its Part I called *Jātakabhāga*, an adaptation of the *Horā* of Varāhamihira and the *Sārāvalī* of *Kalyāṇavarman*, in Part II called *Praśnabhāga*, an adaptation of the *Praśnamārga*, of Panakkāṭṭu Nampūtiri, and in Part III entitled *Muhūrtabhāga*, of the *Muhūrtadarśana* of Vidyāmādhava. In fact, of the ten works credited to this author, five, *viz.*, *Jyotiśśāstrasaṅgraha*, *Saṅgrahasādhanakriyā*, *Jātakasārasaṅgraha*, *Jātakanītimārga* and *Phalasārasamuccaya*, are in Sanskrit and the other five, form the *Bhāṣā* of these five works.

17. *Kerala-Jyotiṣa outside Kerala*

That some of the characteristic innovations, extensions and practices evolved in Kelara in the discipline of Jyotiṣa, especially in its astrological aspect, have

travelled beyond its borders and become current in certain other parts of India is but natural. It is again natural that, as these theories and practices grew popular in those regions, local treatises came to be composed incorporating the new ideas. Most of these treatises are distinguished by the term 'Kerala' tacked on to their titles.[13] However, what seems highly significant in this matter is the variety and profusion of the works that have been composed in this manner. About 80 works of this nature have been identified in the different Manuscripts Libraries:[14] Their non-Kerala origin has been determined from the following indications: (1) Clear mention of alien authorship, (2) the addition of of the term 'Kerala' to the title, (3) the popularity of the works in other parts of India, while they are virtually unknown in Kerala, (4) the availability of manuscripts of these works only in non-Kerala scripts and (5) the general absence of the works in Kerala. While the bulk of these works are anonymous, some are apocryphal texts attributed to ancient sages or said to be parts of larger *Tantras* and *Saṁhitas*. Only a few of these are known under the names of their real authors. The disciplines of *Jātaka* and *Praśna* claim the largest number of these works, the former about 20 and the latter about 35.

In horoscopy, some of the works are comprehensive treatises, like the example, *Kerala-rahasya* or *Kerala-jāta-*

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13. This phenomenon is found in varying degree, also in the case of certain other disciplines like Tantra, Srauta, Dharma and Mantraśāstra.

14. For a classified and documented list of the manuscripts of these non-Kerala works, see Appendix to the present writer's *History of the Kerala school of Hindu Astronomy*, Hosiarpur, 1972.

kānanda ascribed to Śukrācārya, *Kerala-sūtra* ascribed to Marīci, *Kerala-śāstra-sūtra* or *Jātakālaṅkāra* ascribed to Nikaṣā, and the two anonymous works *Keralīya-jātaka* and *Keralīya-jātaka-saṅgraha*, while others are devoted to specific aspects of astrology like *bhāva-s*, *daśa-s* and *yoga-s*. An interesting work is *Kerala-horāvyākhyā* by Sarvartupaṇḍita who composed that work at Vijayanagar at the instance of his patron Gopāla.

Most of the texts on *Praśna* are anonymous. Among those whose authors, real or apocryphal, are indicated are : *Kerala-praśnagrantha* and *Kerala-granthodāharaṇa* both by Mūladeva, *Kerala-śāstra*, *Kerala-praśna* and *Pāsaka-keralī*, all by Garga, *Keralī* by Rāvaṇa, *Keralīya-praśna-ratna* by Nandarāma Paṇḍiya and *Divyacūḍamaṇi* or *Kerala-praśna* by Keralācarya who is also credited with the work *Uḍūdayapradīpa* on horoscopy. Of peculiar subjects dealt with are prognastication on the basis of letters in *Akṣaracintāmaṇi* section of *Keralamata* ascribed to Śiva, *Keraluprasna* or *Keralīya-jñāna* and *Akṣarakevalī-praśna*, both anonymous; on the basis of the throw of the dice in *Kerala-pāśāvalī* of Garga and the two anonymous works *Kerali-praśnavicāra* and *Keralīya-śakunāvalī* ; and on the basis of arecanuts in *Keralapraśna* (anonymous, Mithila III. 180). Of works on natural astrology, a mention might be made of *Keralayātrā* on setting out on a journey, and *Keralī* on the thobbing of the limbs and on dreams, both anonymous, *Kerali-śakuna*, on omens, attributed to Vyāsa.

The desideratum. The non-Kerala works on Kerala Jyotiṣa mentioned of above, demonstrate how the specialities of a discipline as evolved in one region of India

have been transmitted to the other parts of the country and how they have been accepted, preserved and propagated in those parts under the label of their original place of origin. It is well to remember here that it is but natural that during their transmission and propagation through the centuries, some of the original ideas might have undergone slight modifications. It is also possible that some new or local ideas have come to be incorporated in these works and are being paraded as Keralite views. It would be extremely instructive to investigate this phenomenon fully. Comperative studies between the non-Keralite works and allied Keralite works could show how far the former represent the original views. The textual or other sources from Kerala, if any, of the individual non-Keralite works have to be identified. It would also be interesting to examine why these works are almost always unknown in Kerala, the land to which the ideas expressed therein are supposed to belong.

ASOKAN PILLAR EDICT OF AMARAVATI

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1. *Introduction* :--

If we are to believe that 500 B.C. is the beginning of the Early Historical Period, prior to it there is no power South of Vindhyas that controlled vast tracts of land in Peninsular India. No doubt there appears to be some elite who could read and write as evidenced from the rock and pillar edicts of Asoka. This early literate society possibly would have formed the nucleus that helped the growth of a soverign power in the South.

After Asoka it was the Satavahanas who held sway over vast areas of the Deccan. They had established a monarchial type of government and ruled successfully for over three hundred years. This could be ascertained both by literary and Archaeological evidences. Although initially they seemed to have had their capital at Pratiṣtānapura (Paithan), a few of the last kings of the line had made Dhanyakaṭaka as the capital, primarily because, the place had developed as a great centre of Buddhist culture and learning.

From a general study of the history of the place and its present environs, Dharaṇikota may be said to be very ancient. Douglas Barrett[1] and Vincient A.

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1. Douglas Barrett *Sculptures from Amaravati in British Museum* (1954) p. 40.

Smith[2] think that there is no material culture at Amaravati prior to 2nd Cent. A.D. But recent Archaeological studies give contradicting evidence. First of all the evidence of Northern Black polished ware pottery, obtained abundantly from the excavation[3] here, shows the possibility of its antiquity to 5th Cent. B.C.

Secondly, the evidence of a hoard of punch marked coins[4] whose origin may be dated to 5th Cent B.C., indicates popularity of the place, centuries much earlier than the Christian Era.

Thirdly the most important evidence for its antiquity is that of the inscriptions-the pillar edict in question being the formost. Another is a fragment of a pillar containing the pictographic representation of a lady bringing water from the river, Krishna. At the bottom of the scene there is a legend in Asokan characters reading as *dhaṁnekada vaṅdanāmā gōthi.*[5] Evidently 'Dhamnekada' refers to Dharanikota and it may be said that the basic form of its name was not altered even during the Satavahana period. The literary sources mention, that the great edifice of the Mahā-chaitya was

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2. Vincent A. Smith : *The Early History of India.* Re. Pr. 1967-Page 493.

3. *Indian Archaeology—A Review* : During systematic excavations at Dharaṇikoṭa in 1965 N. B. P. sherds were obtained from the Pre-Satavahana dwels.

4. The board was found at Dharaṇikota. It contained silver coins. with solar star and lotus symbols. According to Dr. Parameswarilal Gupta, they are of Mauryan periods.
Bibliography of Punch marked coins of Ancient India 1965 *item III—P.* 16.

5. *Ancient India* Vol. No. (20 and 21) P. 168-177.

built by the Chaityakas, who migrated from Kukutārama in Magadha, and several donations were made to it by various Buddhist sects.[6] This Mahāchaitya was held in high esteem primarily because it was built over the corporal relics of the Buddha. This fact was referred to as *Sri dhānyakataka chaitye jina dhātudhare bhuvi.*[7] Thus, this sanctified place Dhanyakataka, according to the available evidences remained as a great centre of Buddhist culture at least for a period of a thousand years.

Being a river port with possibly having communication facilities along the coast of the Bay of Bengal for trade in food grains, it might have been known by the name, Dhānyakataka, in the reign of the Satavahanas.

During the 13th Century A.D., by fortifying the place with earthern ramparts, the Kota chiefs claimed it as Dharaṇīkota-the fortification of the earth.

Subsequently when the Buddhist influence waned and when the Mahāchaitya (Stupa) went into disuse, the lofty edifice was made use of on festive occasions by the local people to keep lighted lamps alround. Thus, it became Dīpāladinna.[8]

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6. The early Buddhist Texts like *chulla vagga*, and *Mahā vamsa* mention about this. See also *the story of the Amaravati Stupā*, Mallampalli Somasekara Sarma *Andhra Desa Charitra Bhoogola Sarvasvam* Vol. No. 1 P. 299.

7. *Mañjusri Mūlakalpa* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series—1920) Vol. 1 P. 88.

8. *'dinna'* seems to be a prākṛt word meaning 'given' ! It may be of Buddhist origin and might have been adopted locally as a mound intended (given) for lighting up lamps.

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To overcome the growing influence of Buddhism, it appears the area slightly east of Dharaṇikoṭa was developed as a piligrim centre of the Hindus. Here the river Krishna takes a northerly bend thus making itself as *uttaravāhini*. Moreover *purānic* legends state that the place was the seat of the first of the five sanctified *Śaiva-kṣetras* in India.[9] But it is quite evident that the region could not be recognised as the centre of Hindu culture under the Satvahanas and possibly even up to the 6th Cent. A.D.

For the first time, the name Amarapuri (Amaravati) appears in an inscription on a copper plate grant[10] found in Ipur. It was issued by the Viṣṇukuṅdin King Mādhavavarman (550-595) A.D., who was a devout Hindu and a worshipper of Mallikarjuna the god of Śriśailam Hill. He had Amarapuri as his second capital, the first one being Vengi.

Authors like Burgess and Vincient A. Smith[11] have confused and wrote about the Buddhist remains of Dharaṇikoṭa as those of Amaravati. This is due to the fact that the ancient Mahāchaitya is at present located in the municipal limits of Amaravati. In fact both are contiguous places which developed as two different religious centres at two different periods. It deserves in this connection that mention they are today separated by a road of one kilometer long.

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9. See *Bharati* -March, '73 - P. 46.
10. *Epigraphia Indica* Vo. XVII-21. P. 337-39.
11. Vincient Smith *Op. Cit.* P. 493.

2. *The discovery and the nature of pillar Edict* :

From the ancient amounds of Dharaṇikoṭa, and Amaravati a number of inscriptions were collected ranging from 3rd Cent B.C. to 16th Cent. A.D. The Mahāchaitya alone has yielded the bulk of them. Dr. R. Subrahmanyam carried out excavations around Mahāchaitya in 1956, and unearthed several sculptured slabs bearing inscriptions.[13] Some of them were subsequently studied by D. C. Sircar,[14] A. Ghosh and H. Sarkar[15] who discussed their importance in *Ancient India and Epigraphia Indica.*

The pillar fragment of the Asokan Edict in question was first noticed by Sircar. He has given a good account of it in *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. No. XXXV, pt. VI. p. 40-43) under the title An inscription from Amaravati'. Although he felt it could be an Asokan Edict, he did not boldly stress its importance because he did not attempt to interpret certain letters in the epigraph. Consequently it had became difficult for him to identify it with an Asokan Edict.

The original pillar with full text could not be found. Only a cylindrical fragment of a light greenish limestone pillar was obtained in the excavation. It looks as though it was longitudinally cut on either side. In all, its length is 43 cm. and the width of the inscribed portion is 24 cm. It is now installed in the eastern side

12. Most of the inscriptions were published in *Epigraphia Indica* and *South Indian Epigraphy.*

13. *Indian Archaology—A Review* —1958-59 P. 5.

14. *Epigraphia Indica*—Vol. No. XXXVI Pt. 1 P. 1.

15. *Ancient India* Vol. 20 and 21) p. 168-177.

of the Museum hall at Amaravati and bears the accession No. 524 (See Plate).

The text of the fragmentary edict consists of seven lines. The letters are of the same size as we find in the Edicts of Erragudi[16] and Rajulamandagiri.[17] The language is Asokan Prākrit. The script is different from the other similar inscriptions found near the Mahāchaitya. Here it is worth mentioning that there is an early or even pre-Satavahana phase from which some inscriptions in Asokan Characters were also recovered. They are smaller than the present epigraph.

Since the epigraph is associated with Asoka it is possible to expect pharases like *Devānāmpiya, hevamāha.* Also we may find a few Māgadhi and Ardhamāgadhi words in it, which are of usual occurance in the edicts. However it seems to be slightly sanskritised, as the usual slang *tāja* (*rāja*) is not there. On the other hand *'ra'* is clear. Even the Erragudi Edicts of Kurnool district have *'ra'* in them. *Rāṣtrika* is clearly written instead of the usual Asokan word *lāthikāni.*

3. *Text and details of the epigraphs.*

First Line :

Getting to the inscription proper the first line has five letters which would make two words. In the first one, there are three letters and these would read as

16. *Epigraphia Indica Erragudi* Vol. XXXII Pt. 1 P.1.
17. *Ancient India* Vol. No. 4. P. 201.

'*parīta*'.[18] The next word is of two letters and they could be read as ग्न and भ. They however do not form one complete word. The suffix इ-*Kāra* is not clearly seen. This could be इ-*Kāra* from the way the stroke is given and hence this letter would be भि.

In the epigraph, the last letter of the first line is not clearly visible. However some scribbling is discernable. It appears to be a *saṁyukta-akṣara*, a combination of *kha* and *ya*. The second word now becomes *parīta abhi* (*khya*) which means, 'this is made known out of remorse'.

Second Line :—

This line contains six letters. In the first letter, the basic syllable is flaked off but its suffix उ-*kāra* could be identified from the way the stroke is given down words. Considering the next letter, the first basic syllable could be identified as 'द'. This evidently means that the initial letter is *du*. Adding this to the second letter, the word becomes *dukho*.[19] Which means, 'out of sorrow'.

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18. It is clearly written here as '*parīta*' but Sircar tried to interpret this as one similar to the words like *pārati trikāya* (Girnar X. 13), *Pālatikaye* (Dhauli Jaugada, Erragudi) *palantikāya* (Kalsi) *Paratrikāya* (Shahbajghari). All the words appear to different from *parīta*. It is Māgadhi Prākṛit and is found even in Pāli—Dictionaries.

Rhys Davids T.W.—Pali—English Dictionary P. 61.

19. This, Sircar correctly reads as *abhi*, but for the next word he felt that there may be some mistake and tried to show the word as *shita*. He had also interpreted it as two words *abhi* and *paratra* with a stop in between. However they are both connected words and give the meaning made 'known'.

The next three letters form another word. It is are *likhite*. This is a clear sanskritised word to mean 'written'.

The last letter in the line is not clear. Only 'इ-' *kāra* of some letter is retained. Taking the entire line and comparing it with other Asokan Epigraphs, the basic letter could be made out as '*ma*' and with the suffix it becomes '*me*'.[20]

Thus the line could be written as (*d*) *u kho likhite* (*m*) *e*. The meaning attributed to it, is '*with sorrow it is written*'.

Third Line :—

This line contains five letters. All the letters are clear and could be made out. However two more letters in diminuative form are superscribed between the first two letters. Carefully examining them and comparing the size with the letters of original epigraph it becomes more meaningful if they could be explained as these corrected by the original scribe himself who by mistake omitted them and added later. Now with the insertion of two more letters the line will have seven letters.

The first letter and the second diminuative letter at the top become one word, i. e. *jane* to mean 'people'. The other diminuative letter 'र' and 'णो' the fourth usual letter become another word *raṇo* to mean 'war'.

20. In Girnar Edicts, similar commands like, *mayā iyam ajñāptam me idam anapite*, are common--Girnar III.

The next word consists of three letters. They are *bahūni* to mean 'several'. Thus the line could be written as *ja ne*[21] *ra ṇa bahūni.*

The above gives the meaning 'several people in the battle'. Evidently we can presume that the verb 'died' is missing.

Fourth Line :—

This consists of six letters. Five of them make up one word. It is *a nu sa yaṁ ti.* The last letter is *sa.* This may be a part of another word.

The word '*anusayaṅti*',[22] is a Prākṛit form of '*anuśr-uyaṅti* to mean 'being heard.

Fifth Line :—

This line is composed of seven letters. Excepting the first two, others are legible. The first two appear to be a part of a word while the other five make up two words. They are *jiti* and *vijaye.* Analysing the three words as a whole, the first word shows affinity with *jiti* to mean '*victorious,* Since 'र' is the last letter of the first word, the other two letters could be '*sa*' and '*ma*' and all

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21. Here Sircar says that the above two letters although they were written in the same characters, no meaning could be attributed.

22. If this is *anuśōchayaṅti* according to Sircar, *tat māya* also should be added. However the meaning is clear if we read it as *anusayaṅti.*

these make up the meaning 'war'. Thus the line would run as *(sa ma) ra chijiti vijaye.*[23]

This would mean victory gained by slaughter in war.

Sixth Line :—

In this there are three ligible letters. The two letters on either end are practically not clear. The first two of the legible letters are basically the same and they are connected by 'दीर्घ' the sufix of the first. The third letter 'पि' is separately written. Thus in all the line becomes *māma pi.*[24]

This could be split up as *mām api.* Thus the meaning becomes '*I too*'.

Seventh Line :—

This consists of four letters out of which the third letter 'त' is clear. इ-*kāra*, the suffix of the first could be seen but not the basic letter. This could be '*pa*' which means the letter becoms 'पि'-

The lower portion of the third is flaked off. In the fourth letter only the suffix दीर्घ is seen but not the basic letter. This could be guessed as '*ta*'. Thus the

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23. This could be *chidyati vijaye*, but *chijiti vijaye* appears to be more appropriate.

The word *vijaye* is in locative similar, but in this context, it has to be taken as nominative singular. Such irregularities are seen in edict XIII.

24. The first '*ma*' has a *dirgha* and a dot on the top indicating it as *mām*. Even without the dot, it gives the same meaning.

line reads as (*p*) *i ta ta* (*ta*) *a*, and the meaning that could be attributed is '*there too*'.

TEXT

1.......*pa rī ta abhi* (*khya*)...........
2.......(*d*) *u kho li khi te* (*m*).........
3. *jā ne ra ṇo ba hū nī*..........
4. *A nu sa yaṁ ti sa*...............
5. (*sa ma*) *ra chi ji ti vi ja ye*..........
6. ? *mām pi*..
7. .....(*p*) *i ta ta* (*ta*) a.........................

MEANING

1. This is made known out of remorse..............
2. ...... With sorrow it is written. .. ..
3. ...... Several people in war......... ....
4. ...... it is being heard.
5. ......Victory gained by slaughter in war.
6. .... I too.
7. ...... there to.

4. *Conclusion* :—

The pillar edict in question explains the absence of Asokan edicts along the eastern coast from Orissa to Krishna valley in Andhra Pradesh. After the Kalinga war-it seems to me Asoka might have turned back abon-doning his advance towards the eastern route along the

coast. Dhauli, Jaugada [25] and Salihundum [26] edicts show his advance only up to Kalinganagara [27] (modern Mukhalingam). Subsequently however, charged with the ambition of conquering the entire Dakshiṇāpatha, his followers discovered a transcentral peninsular route across the Vindhyas into the Deccan. Consquently we find the continuity of Asokan edicts along this route from Vidiśa to Maski along Deotek,[28] Gavimath and Palkigundu, [29] Dharaṇikota, Erragudi,[30] Rajulamandagiri[31], and Brahmagiri,[32] through Mahākōsla, Aśmaka, Mūlaka Mahiṣamanḍala (Mysore) and further south to Tambapaṇi (Ceylon).

Morever, Jainism as practised in Orissa seems to be earlier than the Asokan edict. Asoka's leaning towards Jainism is wellknown, and possibly in Orissa too, he had to fight with the people who were predominantly Jains.[33] Although he became a devout Buddhist later, he felt that he would commit the sin of killing people of a country abounding in Jaina saints.

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25. Burness. J. *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapet* Vol. 1., 1887 P. 114.

26. *Epigraphia Indica* : Vol. XXXI.14.P.87.88.

27. Douglass Barrett : *Temples at Mukhalingam Sirpur and Rajim* P. 7.

28. Hera Lal : *Inscriptions in the C.P. and Berar* P. 15.

29. Turner R. L. *The Gavimath and Palkigundu Inscription of Asoka* 1952—Pl. (III & IV).

30. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. No. XXXII. P. 1.

31. *Epigyaphia Indica* Vol. XXXI.28. P. 211.

32. *Ancient India* Vol. No. 4. P. 201.

33. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XX. P. 88.

In this context we have to carefully examine the Archaeological finds in some places in Andhra Pradesh adjacent to Orissa. The hill resorts like Salihundum, Ramathirtham Sankaram and Guntupalli would have been the sancturies of Jains. Jains *ayagapatas*, *swastikas*, and several Jaina statues[34] recovered from them go to prove them as *Bettas* and *Basadis* of Jains[35].

Judging from the above, the entire coastal region comprising of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh would have been the veritable home of Jains during Asokan period. Hence Asoka would have been struck with remorse, when he saw the people of saintly state being killed in war. He would have thus stopped his advance along the east coast.

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34. Samprati was a great patron of Jaina and he established Jaina monasteries even in non-aryan countries. According to V.A. Smith Samprathi was considered as Jaina Asoka.

Early History of India P. 195.

35. It appears the entire coastal Andhra was under the influence of Jains even up to 7th cent. A.D. Jainism was fovoured by the early Eastern chalukyan kings of Vengi. Besides the recent discovery of a Jaina epigraph from Guntupalli, show the evidence of the influence of Maha-Meghavahana, (Kharavela) a king devoted to Jainism in the beginning of the christian era. Another evidence to mention in this context is the prominence of *Komaties*, the merchant class in Andhra Pradesh and Mysore. They seem to be the followers of Gomatheswara of Śrāvaṇabelagola.

SOME THOUGHTS ON ONOMATOPOEIA

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I. *Introductory*

Onomatopoeia have roused the curiosity of linguistic authorities since centuries. Thus Yāska (3.18) speaks of the word काक as शब्दानुकृति, but it is very interesting to observe that in the very next line he quotes the protest of औपमन्यव who challenged the very existence of Onomatopoeia (न शब्दानुकृतिर्विद्यते इत्यौपमन्यवः). Further, in 9.12 Yāska first takes दुन्दुभिः as शब्दानुकरणम्, but only as an alternative possibility, for he at once begins to derive it in various ways.

"Imitation is said to be the most important factor in Onomatopoeia." But the latest researches of Psychologists have exploded this "Imitation", if it is to be taken literally. Let us take a single "imitative word, viz. the crowing of a cock". The following words for it may be noted.

Panjabi	kukrūkarhū
Hindi	kukrūkū
English	cock-a-doodle-doo
German	kikeriki
French	cocorico
Malaya	kokokōko
Telugu	kokkurō kō

Marathi	kukūkku
Russian	kukäreku :
Sindhi	kukṛūkū
Tamil	kokkərákokko
Rajasthani (Bikaner)	kukṛùkkū

That the above list has an imitative element, goes without saying. But it is equally clear that on this imitative element there is a superimposition of the speech habits and psychological trends of each particular speech group.

Webster has explained onomatopoeia as the naming of a thing or action by a more or less exact reproduction of the sound associated with it.

Now *associated* is the essence of the concept of onomatopoeia. This association will come from the peculiar psychological trend of each speaker, a trend which will finalize the shape of the word concerned.

II. *Psychological aspects of Onomatopoeia*

We shall now catch firmly hold of Webster's "association" in the above definition, and turn to a greater master in our field, viz. the world-renowned German Psychologist, Wundt, who, in his masterly book, **Die Sprache** (1928, p. 338), tells us plainly that it is auditory images rather than Onomatopoeia or exact imitations of sounds that actually play their part in these phenomena. If their is any imitation at all in these sounds, he says, it is imitation by a sound, not imitation of a sound. In another passage (p. 364) he adds

that we have here to do with "suggestive" sound gesture rather than imitative sound-gesture. It is this "suggestive" sound-gesture that led to those luxuriant sound pictures which impress us so much in the language of the world.

III. *Pāṇini's division of Onomatopoeia*

Amazing indeed is Pāṇini's approach to Onomatopoeia, for it is similar to that of Wundt, as could be read in Pāṇini's term for this phenomenon, viz. अव्यक्तानुकरण in 5.4.57 अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् द्व्यजवरार्धादनितौडाच् अव्यक्तानुकरण for Onomatopoeia, was one of the happiest phraseologies of Pāṇini. To Pāṇini this phenomenon was not imitation in the strict sense of the term, but only imitation coloured as modern Linguistics would term it.

It is a pity that Monier Williams, referring to this very Sūtra, has rendered अव्यक्तानुकरण too literally, viz. imitation of inarticulate sounds. It is no doubt true that Pāṇini would have used the term अव्यक्त for inarticulate sounds, as is clear from his use of the opposite term in 1.3.48 व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे on which Patañjali refers to speech sounds actually uttered by human beings (व्यक्ता वाचि वर्णा येषाम्). But the comments of the *Nyāsa* on अव्यक्तानुकरण happily refer to the same auditory images as mentioned by Wundt. Thus commenting on this Sūtra, the *Nyāsa* states that when, after the word पटत् in the imitative form पटपटाकरोति, the suffix डाच् is in view, a mental image of the sound, though it is not actually generated, leads to the (mental) repetition of the word पटत् (in the form of पटपटाकरोति).

पटच्छब्दाड्डाचि विवक्षिते विषयभूते बुद्धिस्थेऽनुत्पन्न
एव पूर्वं तावद् द्विर्वचनं पटच्छब्दस्य क्रियते ।

अव्यक्तानुकरण, therefore, in this context, cannot mean "imitation of inarticulate sounds", but only "a visualized (literally not concretely perceived) imitation", what classical Sanskrit would term कल्पितानुकरण. The factual analysis of the concept of Onomatopoeia should involve two elements : sensuous and imaginative, the latter predominating. "But in life it is the ratio that counts" said the great French philosopher Rousseau, and the real problem before the modern researcher is to discern the ratio between the sensuous and imaginative elements of an onomatopoeia.

IV. *Data from the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini*

In order to face this challenging problem, Wundt unfortunately is unable to help the modern researcher, who has, therefore, to fall back on Webster's definition of Onomatopoeia, the main emphasis of which lies on "association". In order to see how far "association" could help us in ascertaining the ratio between the sensuous and the imaginative in Onomatopoeia, it is useful to have a look at Pāṇini's *Dhātupāṭha*. The following data may have some remote bearing on this issue :—

(i) Only three categories of verbs in the Dhātupaṭha show the sensuous elements of an onomatopoeia. They are :

(a) to laugh
कख्—, खकख्—, घग्घ्—, घघ्
Probably these phonetic differences had a dialectical basis.

(b) to cough
कास्—

(c) to hiccup
हिक्क्—

From the above it would appear that the ratio between the sensuous phenomenon and imaginative phenomenon is meagre. In an article on the 'French Language[1] it is stated—"Onomatopoeia has enriched French with a certain number of words ; about 100 belong to this category, says the *Dictionnaire Generale*, e.g. *chuchoter* "to whisper", *conquerico* "cook-a-doodle-doo", but the advance of etymology may whittle down the number of these terms, some of which figure in this class for want of better knowledge." It is evident that in French too the ratio may be small,

If onomatopoeia are considered from a wider, associative point of view, as Webster would have, that associated words with similar sounds could also be called onomatopoeic; one sound, suggesting another, the phenomenon then could be a pattern of "suggestive sound gesture" as explained in Para II above. In this wider sense, the ratio of onomatopoic element in the *Dhātupāṭha* would be considerably increased, as the following data will show :—

कुण्	to sound	कुश्	to shoot
स्तन्	to sound	स्तुभ्	to utter a joyful sound
क्वण्	to tinkle	घुष्	to proclaim
स्तु	to praise	कू	to cry
शप्	to swear	रट्	to speak
रु	to make noise	कु	to murmur

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, p. 762.

शब्द	to make any noise or sound	रण्	to rattle
रट्	to speak	गु	to hum
रुद्	to shed tears	भट्	to speak
भण्	to speak	मन्द्	to yell

Slight semantic differentiation by phonetic modification is a common phenomenon in all languages. The following examples from Awadhi, may be of some interest :

kikiyāb	to cry, said of a baby when crying out of hunger.
kilkilāb	to cry, of the baby, out of satisfaction.
cīkhab	to cry bitterly, said of the baby
cīciyab	to cry owing to some unknown cause, said of a baby.

V. *New creations on onomatopoeic basis.*

On p. 179 Wundt has described new creations in language, on the basis of suggestive sound as explained above.

Similarly H. Paul in his *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*[2] has described young people's new creations, in their efforts to describe the phenomena of sounds and movements. Thus in German the word (*Baum*) means a "Tree" which gives (*bammeln*) to swing, said of the swinging nature of a tree, while (*bummeln*), slightly modified, means of walk. Wackernagel has pointed out, how, in Vedic, new formations on an onomatopoeic

2. 1920, p. 177.

basis were possible, as the *taṅkāra*, *phūtkāra*, *akkhalī-kṛtya.*[3]

VI. *Onomatopoeia in Poetry*

There is need of a systematic plan for investigating the system of Onomatopoeia in poetry, taking the term in the wider sense of suggestive sound gesture. Moreover the occurrence of a word like चामरीघर्घर in literature[4] indicates that in Poetry the delicate shades of Semantics have also to be studied side by side. For the world-renowned French philologist Vendrey points out that "a word is not to be solely defined by the abstract definition found in a Dictionary. Around the logical meaning of each word there floats, an emotional atmosphere, which envelopes and penetrates.[5]

It seems that with चामरी, only the repetitive aspects of चामरी movements were enough for the poet to give the sense of घर्घर. On the other hand, in Avadhi *bhar bhar* is used in the sense of rush and speed, e.g. *bhar bhar manei nikare log* 'crowds of men began to rush in speed.'

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3. *Altindische Grammatik*, 1905, p. 7.
4. *Yogavāsiṣṭha.*
5. V.K. Golak *The Poetical Approach to language*, Oxford, 1952, p. 19.

MIŚRA, A SURNAME

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As a surname for Brahmins *miśra* has been current in Eastern India since the tenth or the eleventh century. An early instance occurs in the name of the author of the wellknown Sanskrit drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* : Kṛṣṇa-miśra. In Bengal it was current till the beginning of the seventeenth century. In Orissa, Mithila and in the Bhojpuri speaking areas of Bihar and Eastern U. P. it is still current.

The basic meaning of *miśra* (Vedic variant *miśla* occurring only in the compounds *amis'la, nimis'la* and *sammis'la*) is'mixed, commingled, blended, attached to, accompanied by, etc.' Its use as a respectful term of address appears, as I understand, in some Prakrit portions of Sanskrit drama including Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā (e.g. *gahĩde bhāvamiśśehiṃ* 'I have been arrested by your Honours') Prakrit *bhāvamiśśa* is a translation of Sanskrit *bhāvamiśra*, literally meaning divine presence.' As I am trying to show that *miśra* came to mean 'divine' and it was an equivalent of *deva* or *devaśarman* which came to replace *miśra* as a surname for Brahmins in Bengal in the seventeeth century. *Bhāva* 'existence, presence' has perfect synonyms in Arabic *ḥazarat* and *ḥuzūr*.

How *miśra* came to acquire the sense 'divine' is indicated in the Minor Rock Edict of Asoka, column I.

Here Asoka said that he had adopted Buddhism as a novice (*śrāvaka*) more than two and half years ago but did not exert strenuously (for piety). Now for more than a year he has entered the Saṅgha and has exerted strenuously. During this period (i.e. a year plus) the gods (or men) who formerly had no association (i.e. communion) with men (or the gods) now were associated (i.e. in communion) with them, and such was the benefit of exertion (*amisā devā samānā māṇusehi se dāṇi misā kaṭā; amisā munisā devehi te dāni misibhūtā; amisaṁdevā santo munisa misaṁdevā kaṭā*; etc.)

Miśra as an horofic title of a Brahmin would mean 'one who is associated with the gods' and therefore 'divine'. Its counterpart in Bengal, *Devaśarman*, would mean 'one who is under the shelter of the gods'.

A BRIEF NOTE ON THE SĀMAVIDHĀNA BRĀHMAṆA

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1. The writer has been for some time now making a detailed study of the *Sāmabrāhmaṇa-s* in all their aspects *viz.*, cultural, historical and linguistic. This brief note on the *Sānavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* (*SVB*) forms part of his detailed study of the whole range of *Brāhmaṇa* literature of *SV* in available recensions.

SVB is generally regarded as one of the eight *Brāhmaṇas* belonging to the school of Kauthumas. So far, no one has questioned the propriety of its being included in one recension only though the book is of general nature, and it could be said that it is equally applicable to all the other recensions as well. We may briefly discuss the point later.

2. *A brief survey of the Brāhmaṇa* :

Among the *Brāhamṇas* of *SV*, *SVB* stands alone with its rich material dealing with primitivc beliefs, magical rites, witchcraft etc., which normally do not come within the purview of a theological treatise. It is thus unlike the other *Brāhmaṇas*, heterogeneous in nature and unorthodox in its contents, for, a considerable part of this *Brāhmaṇa* ponders over on topics which should rightly be the topics of the *Dharmaśāstra*. For instance,

it devotes four out of the eight *anuvāka*-s in the first *prapāṭhaka* for *prāyaścitta*, expiation, for acts of commission and omission varying from *amedhyadarśana* or *amedhyaghraṇa*, *aślīla-bhāṣaṇa* and *surā-pāna* to *gohatyā* and *brahma-hatyā*. The *prapāṭhaka* II deals exclusively with *kāmya* rites including enchantment of women of night-life and easy virtue, treasure hunt, exorcism and a variety of such like. The *prapāṭhaka* III is only a continuation of the second but relapses in some places into *śrauta* rites of not very superior value. The *Brāhmaṇa* seems to have been a haven for primitive priest-craft, since its major portion deals with *prāyaścitta*, *abhicāra* and the rituals for attainment of supernatural power as a means for fulfilment of man's desire to be wealthy, to acquire hidden treasure, to destroy whatever he disliked, to walk in the space, to enchant women of his choice, etc. In short, this *Brāhmaṇa* is a jumble of *śrauta* ceremonies, magical rites, *kāmya* rituals and cheap rites for securing rich rewards which are otherwise possible to obtain only by means of long and tedious sacrifices of the duration of periods varying from one day to several years. The *sāman* chants have been employed judiciously or injudiciously in this *Brāhmaṇa* for purposes other than the legitimate ones, some of which are simply base and repulsive. One feels rather puzzled to realize that the Vedic *mantra-s* should have been prescribed for such unholy acts and to achieve such ends which would satisfy only the baser instancts of a man. One cannot reconcile as to how a Veda which is identified with the Lord Himself in the *Bhagavad-gītā* should be employed for ends which are outside the spiritual domain. However, it is clear that the priestcraft misused its office for perpetuating supers-

tition among the easily gullible mass for its own end. The explanation, forwarded by some, that these rites have been described here only to enlighten a man that he should by all means avoid these acts of evil consequences, sounds simply puerile and holds no water. It is, however, to be noted here that the *Sāmavidhāna* is not an isolated example in the matter of trespassing into the province of the *Gṛhyasūtra-s* and the *Dharmaśāstra*. The *Ṛgvidhāna* and *Atharva-pariśiṣṭa* almost run on parallel lines with *SVB* in this respect and deal with similar topics. But they are not styled as *Brāhmaṇa-s*.

For a student of religion *SVB* provides an interesting study, for, in this *Brāhmaṇa* obvious attempts have been made to sanctify the pre-Vedic rites by bringing them into the fold of Vedic practices and assigning the Vedic *mantra-s* for their actual performance. A mere glance through the list of contents will reveal a variety of *kāmya* rites, religious observances, witchcrafts and magical rituals many of which may legitimately be branded as antisocial acts. It is clear that the *sāman* melodies were stealthily and surreptitiously employed by the priests in their performance of black art and witchcraft in order to acquire supernatural power only 'to be misused for ephemeral achievements and singul enjoyment. These pre-Vedic rites were recorded in *SVB* in order to raise them to the status of Vedic ceremonies or to bring them into the fold of *kāmya* observances and rites sanctioned by the Veda. The *Brāhmaṇa*, however, as if to make amendments for its early indulgences, prescribes a strange observance called *rātri-vrata* in its eighth *anuvāka* of the third chapter as a means for achieving the state of *apunarbhava* i.e. salvation by escaping

from the chain of births and deaths. The concluding chapter, true to its nature, again deals with such rite which would bestow supernatural power on the performer who, if he properly concludes the rite, would be able to walk in the space, go anywhere with his mortal frame in the universe, including heaven, the doors of which will always be kept open for him. The chapter concludes with a friendly counsel that one may select any of the rites according to one's inclination, *abhiprayikaṁ karma* (*SVB* III. 9.7), and also mentions that only a Brahmin, who after having properly completed his Vedic studies is about to leave the *guru-kula*, should be initiated into *Sāma-vidhāna*. The *Brāhmaṇa* also gives the lineage of ācaryas who passed down this secret *vidhi* described therein to the posterity.

The *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* was written, as we learn from the commentaries, for prescribing *sāmagāna-s* for the purposes of achieving those ends which are ordinarily reached only be means of big sacrifices lasting from one day to several years. These costly and rigid sacrifices could be performed only by *Yajñādhikārin-s* i.e., those who are eligible and capable to perform sacrifices. These are the people who have neither the right nor the capacity and equipment mental or physical, to perform sacrifices but who at the same time would like to reach those ends. The *Brāhmaṇa* was written for such people who, while they are devoid of all rights or have dissipated their rights running after ephemeral and mundane pleasures or are disqualified to perform Vedic sacrifices because of their pursuit of impure acts, would like to achieve the same goal i.e. *svarga* and attain the same rewards, by some means, if possible. The *Brāh-*

maṇa comes to the rescue of such people, the *Yajña-anadhikārin*-s, and prescribes ritual formulae with *sāman* melodies to be sung during their reperformance. Therefore, the *Brāhmaṇa* is rightly named *Sāma-vidhāna* where *sāman*-s are prescribed (for respective rituals).

3. *A Common book of all Sāmaveda Recensions*

SVB, though it is assumed as the third of the eight *Brāhmaṇa*-s of Kauthuma, presents us with sufficient material in its text, which poses itself a question why this *Brāhmaṇa* should be tied down to any one *Śākhā* or recension ? The contents of the *Brāhmaṇa* as we have pointed out earlier are such that they plainly transgress the legitimate boundary of the theological treatises dealing with sacrificial texts and ceremonials. Therefore, one may rightly doubt the justification of its being included in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature. Of course, even tradition, it may be seen in some cases, cannot stand the test of reasoning and eventually becomes inexplicable and ununderstandable.

The *Brāhmaṇa* has quoted a large number of *sāman*-s or the groups (*varga*-s) of *sāman*-s to be sung in respective rituals and ceremonies. The *sāman*-s are either quoted by their *pratīka*-s or referred to by the distinct technical names of the individual *sāmanā*-s or groups of *sāman*-s. These quotations clearly show that this *Bārhmaṇa* does not adhere to any one *śākhā*. This may be a manual compiled by the priests wherein they have recorded the formulae of the secret rites and ceremonies for achieving the desired objectives. Therefore, it is not taught in the course of normal education of a brahmacārin but only after one's completion thereof

and there too to one who would like to specialise in this branch of priest-craft.

It is a fact that almost all the quotations leaving a few are found in the *Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya* recension. It is understandable because the basic text of the different *śākhā*-s of *SV*, even as the *śākhā*-s of other Vedas, did not differ much in its text with each other. The difference was mainly in variant readings in the order of arrangement of verses and in the process of melodization of the *yonimantra*-s. Of course each *śākhā* had some verses which are not found in other *śākhā*-s. It is these special verses which characterize a particular *śākhā* and help us to identify it.

There are three verses quoted in *SVB* which are not found in the Kuthuma recension. They are : *yad itastanvo mama* (*SVB* 1-7-13 *ayam agriḥ śraṣṭhatamaḥ* (*SVB* III. 4. 4.) and *saṁsravase* (*SVB* III. 3. 5.). The first two are found in the J*aiminīyas* while the third is not found in any of the three recensions. It may be said that the verse *saṁsravase* was lost to the existing *Saṁhitas* or that the verse belonged to *śākhā* which has become extinct. But basing on the evidences of the verses of the *Jaiminīya* recension included in *SVB* the latter argument is more plausible.

Besides these verses, there are two *gaṇa*-s which are referred to by their technical names but are not identified to our satisfaction. These are *tavasyaviya* and *kakaṣa-varga.* Out of these *tavasyaviya* is explained by Sāyaṇa in detail in his commentary. But the *gaṇa* known by this name in the *Sāman* tradition is a single one and that too a *stobha-gāna* i. e. *dharma-vidharma* (*A .S.* 264). We

also have another *tavasyaviya*, found at the end of the *Āraṇyaka–gāna* viz., *Om ka*···1345. *Om bhūḥ* (A. C. *Pariśiṣṭa*), which, according to SATAVALAKAR'S edition, belongs to another recension, *śākhāntara*, Sāyaṇa, however, refers to neither of these but to a set of *gaṇa's* known as *agner ilandam pañcānuganam*. Among these the first is only a *stobha-gāna* and the other four if this group of *gāna's* were also known by the collective name *tavasyaviya*. It should be noted in this connection that the commentary on *tavasyaviya* is found only in the Adyar Ms. we consulted. The printed editions of BURNELL and of Satyavrata SAMASHRAMIN do not have this portion and I now feel that the passages; *ka u kha gnir asmi...tat tavasyaviyam ucyate* (*SVB* II. 1.8, pp. 101-102) were wrongly inserted by some scribe in the commentary. The *sāman's* referred to in *SVB* are only from the *Grāmageya* and *Āraṇyaka* including the *Mahānāmni's*. Therefore we cannot go to *ūha* and *ūhya* (or ; *rahasya*) *gāna-s*. The verse *Agnetava sravaḥ* (*SV* 18.16) is, however, found only in the *uttararcika* in the available *saṁhitā's*. It is likely that in some recensions this verse might have been included in the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* and the *gāna-s* based on this verse might have been named as *tavasyaviya* or most probaly *tavasraviya*.

As for *kakṣavarga* too we could not offer any satisfactory solution. Sāyaṇa simply says *kakaṣvargadyaih ityādi spaṣṭam* (*SVB*, p. 194) and keeps quiet. Bharatasvamin too thinks that explanation of *kakṣavarga* is superflouous. From this it is clear that *kakṣavarga* was too well-known to require any explanation at the time of of Bharatasvamin and Sāyṇa. This group consisted of not less than four *gāna-s* as it is evident from the text *kakṣavargadyais caturbhiḥ* (*SVB*). Therefore, what we surmi-

sed in our Introduction to *SVB* that the *gāna-s* based on *aram asvaya gāyata* (*SV* 118) might be the *gāna-s* answering the *kakṣvarga* is not correct because there are only two *gāna-s* melodised on this verse. Therefore, again it is likely that *kakṣavarga* refers to some other recension.

In *SVB* the *gāna*-s based on the verse *jagrhmate* (*SV* 317) are termed as *Ṣadvarga* meaning a group of six (*gāna-s*). But actually in the *Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya* recension, as also in the *Jaiminīya*, they are only five. Both the commentators have clearly noted the discrepancy in their commentaries, and they believe that *SVB* perhaps refers to some different recension. Bharatasvamin says : *Pañcavarga eva yadyapi samanas tathāpi ṣaṣṭhaṁ śākhāntare eṣṭavyam* (*SVB* 2.7.3). Sāyaṇa too points out this in a more emphatic way ; *Yadyapyatra chandogaḥ pañcavargam adhīyate, tathāpi ṣadvargam ityetat brāhmaṇabalāt tacchākhāntaragataḥ ṣadvargo vā grahītavyaḥ* (*SVB* 2.7. 3). The recension which consisted of six *gāna-s* based on *jagrhmate* was not in vogue when the commentaries were written nor was it known to the commentators.

SVB at the conclusion gives a list of names of *ṛṣis* through whom the secret *Sāmavidhi-s* passed down to the posterity. . The *Vaṁśa* and *Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad Brāmaṇa-s* also give but a long list of *ṛṣis* but there the succession of names given refer only to *Sāman*-learning and not *Sāmavidhi* i. e. application of *Sāman-s* for mundane gains and positions. *SVB* further restricts the knowledge of the secret *Sāmavidhi* to a religious student who is about to return to his home after having completed his education, In this list there are 10 names excluding Prajāpati, who has been identified with Brahman and after whom this

tradition is named. In this Jaimini and Taṇḍi representing the *Jaiminīya* and *Kauthuma-Rāṇāyanīya* śākhā-s are included.

4. *Conclusion :*

It is clear that the tradition of the *Sāmavidhi* is separate from and independent of the *Sāmaveda-Saṁpradāyaparaṁparā*. For this reason a separate succession of ṛṣis is recorded here. Otherwise a new list was uncalled for. This is a manual compiled by the priests as an authentic guide for performing rituals included in this work.

Therefore, *SVB.*, though it was included in the *Kāuthuma śākhā-s* by tradition, might have been a book common to all *śākhā-s*, not necessarily to the Kauthuma alone. The internal evidence, the subject matter, the *sāman-s* prescribed for various rites, besides a separate lineage of ṛṣis through whom this knowledge came down, clearly upholds this view.

THE NṚTTAHASTAS IN THE NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA

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In the ninth chapter of the *N. S.* (*GOS*) 24 *asaṃyutahastas,* 13 *saṃyutāhastas* (postures which involve both the hands), and a number of *nṛttahastas* are mentioned. What was the specific number of the *nṛttahastas* intended is not clear. Abhinavagupta is silent on the point. Śārṅgadeva in his *Saṅgītaratnākara* (7-90) counts the *nṛttahastas* to be thirty. The late V. S. Agrawala stated them to be thirty-two.[1] MM. P. V. Kane mentions them as twenty-seven.[2] The present writer feels that they may be sixty-four in number, as at the end of the enumeration of the *nṛttahastas* in the *N. Ś.* the following statement occurs:

catuṣṣaṣṭikarā hyete nāmatō 'bhihitā mayā/
(GOS, Vol. II, p. 28)

Caturakallinātha in his commentary on the *Saṅgītaratnākara* in the seventh chapter (Vol. iv, pp. 26 & 27, Adyar, 1953) raises in this context a pertinent question as to why the dual number was used in the enumeration

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1. See his *Śṛṅgāra-hāṭa,* published by Hindi Grantha Ratnākara Private LTD., Bombay, 1960, page 142, where he takes the 32 *hastapracāras,* mentioned in the *Ubhayābhisārikā,* to be identical with these *nṛttahastas* of the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* See also, on this point, the translation of the *Ubh.* by me and A.K. Warder, Madras, 1960.
2. See his *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, 1961, p. 32.

of the *nṛttahastas* (like *caturaśrau*, *udvṛttau*[3] etc.) as opposed to the singular number used in the case of the 13 *saṃyutahastas* (like *añjaliḥ*, *kapotaḥ*, etc..........all these are given as such by Bharata himself) and gives the following reply :

> *añjalyādīnām abhinayahastatvenārthagamakatvaniyamāt saṃyutatvavyatirekeṇārthagamakatvābhāvāt saṃyutākāreṇa ekahastatvam. tena ekavacananirdeśa evopapannas teṣām. caturaśrādīnāṃ tu nṛttahastatvena śobhāmātropayogitvāt tasya ca ekenāpi sādhyatvāt prayoge pṛthak svātantryaṃ darśayitum teṣāṃ dvivacananirdeśa evopapannaḥ.*

From this reply it is clear that the *nṛttahastas* (*caturaśa* etc.) can be performed by employing *only one hand also* (*tasya ca ekenāpi sādhyatvāt prayoge pṛthak svātantryam*), and so each item stands for two numbers, involving either the right hand or the left hand as the case may be. Therefore while counting the *nṛttahastas* the number should be taken twice as many as the names that are mentioned. With reference to *arālakhaṭaka-hasta* Abhinava remarks.

arālau tataḥ khaṭakau ityeke. (GOS, Vol. II, p. 72), and again on page 74 (*ibid.*) the reading in the *Abhinava-bhāratī* is *uttānau añcitau.* Probably these items are meant to be four as *arālau*, *khaṭakāmukhau*, *uttānau*,[4] and *añcitau*

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3. ***Karihasta*** is given in singular according to Abhinava, Śārṅgadeva and his commentators. But it seems there were others who read it in dual. The enumeration by name in the beginning in the *N.Ś.* itself (GOS, p. 28) has it in dual as *karihastau.*

4. I am told that these are given separately like *uttanau* and *añcitau* even in the Kāśi edition, though I was unable to see it myself personally.

and not two like *arālakhaṭakāmukhau*, and *uttanavañcitau* as the reading is sometimes seen. Similarly *alapallava* (or *alapadma*) and *ulbaṇa* are perhaps two separate items. as counted by Śārṅgadeva *Saṅgītaratnākara*, Adyar, VII. 276-278), and not *one* as Abhinava seems to mean (N.S., GOS. Vol. II, p. 79). If we take in this manner, the items mentioned under *nṛttahastas* turn out to be thirty-two, and the total number to sixty-four, each item being of the right hand or the left hand as the case may be. Therefore the statement occurring at the end of the *nṛttahastas* (p. 28) in the *N. Ś.* running as.

catuṣṣaṣṭikarā hyete nāmato'bhihitā mayā

seems to me to be applicable only to the *nṛttahastas*, as there is no other statement specifying the number of these, as is found in the case of the *asaṃyutahastas* and the *saṃyutahastas*. It does not seem to take into account the *asaṃyuta* and the *saṃyuta* types of *hastas* also.

But Śārṅgadeva counts the *nṛttahastas* as thirty[5] in number, whereas no statement corresponding to that is found in the *N.S* He refers to a statement of the number as 64, which he does not say to be of Bharata (and about which the commentators simply mention as *lōkē*), and questions the correctness of the number 64, taking it to include all the three types of *hastas*, which according to him should be 67, and tries to give some justification (of the number 64) with which he himself does not feel satisfied at the end.

5. MM P.V. Kane who takes them to be 27, does not explain how it is so. Probably he has in mind the *kliṣṭakalpanā* shown by Śārṅgadeva, although the latter himself was not satisfied with it.

The text of the *N.Ś.* (GOS) and the *Abhinava-bhāratī* as available now are not very clear in many places, and perhaps even in the days of Śārṅgadeva the fate of these texts was almost the same. Or probably the statement of the number 64 now available (as printed in the GOS) does not represent a correct tradition. At the present stage of our knowledge nothing more can be said than that the two do not give identical pictures. If we take the "64" to be referring only to the *nṛttahastas*, and if we can explain it to be so by splitting up the items as shown by me, then it would mean that Śārṅga-deva's understanding in the application of the number 64 to all the three types, is questionable.

ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AUTHENTIC PAIPPALĀDA-SAṀHITĀ

MICHAEL WITZEL,
KATHMANDU

The discovery[1] of the palm-leaf manuscripts of the Paippalāda-Saṁhitā in Orissa more than a decade ago and the subsequent publication[2] of the first four kāṇḍas by the late Professor Durgamohan Bhattacharyya and his son, Prof. Dipak Bhattacharyya, in 1964 and 1970 have unianimously[3] been hailed as one of the most important events in Indology during the past decades. We can only hope, and plead to the concerned authorities that the other sixteen kāṇḍas will be published soon, thus enabling further study of one of the oldest and most important Vedic texts.

1. *The Atharvaveda in Kashmir*

In his introduction to the first volume,[4] Durgamohan Bhattacharrya has adduced strong reasons for

1. See Durgamohan Bhattacharya, *Our Heritage*, Vol. V p. 81-86.

2. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya, *Paippalāda-Saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda*, Vol. 1, (kāṇḍa 1), Calcutta 1964, Vol. 2 (kāṇḍas 2-4), with an introduction by Dipak Bhattacharyya, Calcutta 1970.

3. For some criticism see Wright, *BSOAS* 30 (1967) p. 201 f. and K. Hoffmann, *IIJ* XI (1968).

4. P. XII sqq.

the supposition that the Paippalāda tradition of Kashmir, on which the unique birch bark manuscript of this text is based, was brought to Kashmir only in the middle of the 15th century[5] by the Kashmiri Vedapāṭhin Yuddha-bhaṭṭa who had learned the text in the Karṇāṭa country and, after his return to Kashmir, taught it to Brahmin boys in a pāṭhaśālā. Unfortunately, the account given in the Jainarājataraṅgiṇī [6] about this event is not quite clear as to the period during which the Atharvaveda was lost in Kashmir prior to this reimport : it is only said : 'since long' (ciram) the Kashmiris had had the wish to acquire the Atharvaveda, having read about it in the Śāstras. If the persistent Kashmiri tradition[7] is true that during the Musiim

5. The discovery of the *PS* in Orissa, medieval inscriptions mentioning the school in Bengal, the Mahārṇava and the tradition about Paipp. reciters in the Karṇāṭa country do not, however, contradict—as supposed by Bhattacharyya—Thieme's view (which has been opposed by Subhadra Jha, Studies on the Paipp. AV, Journal of the Bihar Res. Soc. XXXVIII p. 241 ; inacessible to me) "that the Paippalāda Śākhā hails from the extreme North, and that is was popular specially among the residents of the northwestern part of India" (Paṇini and the Veda p. 76) : The question is for *which time* Thieme's statement is meant : for earlier times, as that of Patañjali, ca. 150 BC, and earlier it is certainly true. See, for instance the relation to the Brāhmaṇa and Ār. of the Kāṭha school—this school stemming from the Eastern Panjab (see introduction to Kaṭha-Ār., published soon from the VVR-Institute); cf. also Wright, loc. cit. p. 202.

6. Jainarājataraṅgiṇī by Jainarāja, vv. 1269-1274.

7. See already Baron K. v. Hügel's *Reisen* Vol. II, 365 and Roth, *Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir*, Stuttgart 1875 p. 28 : in calmer times, 400 Brahmin families are said to have been brought from the Deccan. Roth assumes that to have been in the 15th century.

persecutions at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries oniy eleven Brahmin families had remained in the Valley, and many birch bark books had been thrown into deep wells or the Dal Lake,[8] the reason for the wish of the Kashmiris might have been the extinction of AV-tradition during the persecutions. For in the period prior to these, there is little cause to assume that the Atharvaveda, and especially the Paippalāda Saṁhitā, had been lost in Kashmir.

For a very remote period, the text of the Kaṭhas, i.e. the Black Yajurveda school which was and still is prevailant in Kashmir, bear evidence enough that there was a very close connection between the Kaṭha - and the Paippalāda-śākhā[9]; for later times, the Kāṭhaka (Laugākṣi—) Cṛhya-Sūtra, and for the middle ages, its commentators Ādityadarśana, Devapāla and Brahmaṇabala shed some light : KGS II, 4, for instance, regulates the time the study of the Veda[10] should take, and prescribes 12, 24, 36 or 48 years. Devapāla clearly says

8. One dam is said to consist only of birch bark books ; cf. already Bühler, *Detailed Report*, and Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī passim.*

9. See AVP I 7 and LGS Vol. II p. 55 f.—*Kaṭha Āraṇyaka*, 99-100 and also part of the *Pravargya-Sānti* (*KaṭhĀ* I) ; for this see my forthcoming ed. of the *KaṭhĀ* to be published from the *VVRI*.—The Kaṭha School seems to have recognized the *AV* as the earliest of all Śākhās outside the *AV* itself, cf. the quotations in the Kaṭha Br. ed. Schroeder, ṢB Wien 1898 p. 58 (*svādhyāya-Br.* !) and in *KṭahĀ*, inrod. note 37.

10. On the other hand, the *traividyakavrata*, accompanying the study of the *three* Vedas (see *Upanayanavidhi*, ed. Keśav Bhaṭṭ, Śrīnagar, Vikram S. 1993, p. 60-62) gives only the first anuvākas of KS (I 1-3), RV I 1, 1—9 and SV I 1, 1.

this meant the study of one, two, three or four Vedas. Ādityadarśana implies this, too, in explaining '12 years per Veda', but both do not mention that the fourth Veda could not be studied in Kashmir.

Leaving aside the question whether there was some kind of AV—tradition before and during Yuddhabhaṭṭa's time or not,[11] only a study of the Kashmirian Paippalāda tradition as available in manuscripts now[12] can yield an answer to the question whether Yuddhabhaṭṭa's text—which according to Dipak Bhattacharyya goes back to the same source as the Orissa text[13]—could be the

11. One must not forget, for instance, the remote Valley of Kishtwar, outside the Valley of Kashmir itself, where people also speak Kashmiri and Kashmiri Paṇḍits officiate.—There are some Atharvavedins at the place of Nirmaṇḍa on the Sutlaj, in the 7th century, see CII 3 p. 289 and Renou, Ecoles védiques p. 87.—Many Brahmins also immigrated from NW India during the early Muslim invasions (see Stein, Rājatar., introduction).

12. Oral traditions seem to have been lost : Pt. Dīnanāth of Śrīnagar, who on behalf of D. Bhattacharyya tried to find out Atharvavedins or more mss. in Kashmir, could not find them, except one copy of the birch bark in his own possession (see below). On possibly still living Paipp. tradition in Kashmir see K. Chattopadhyaya, Presidential address to the *9th AIOC*, Trivandrum, Proceedings p. 128—V. Hügel's mentioning of the 'Atterman Veda' (Reisen, Vol II p. 364) unfortunately cannot prove that there still was *AV* tradition at the beginning of the last century in Kashmir.

13. See Vol II p XXVII f.—This is essential for a reconstruction of the authentic PS : the position of the Kashmiri as against the Or. tradition should be made clear ; cf. already Wright, loc. cit p. 202 : "a firm basis for further reconstruction will, however, not be laid until the Orissa and the Bombay Paippalāda manuscripts have been fully described and collated." cf. also Raghu Vira's opinion in his first Vol : '*tṛtīyasmin koṣṭhe kośāpapāṭhā niveśitāḥ. Manyāmahe eṣā koṣṭhatrayayojanā sarveṣām rucikarā bhaviṣyati*'—for without or with incomplete readings there is no rucikaram.

text recorded by the unique Birch bark manuscripts of the Tübingen University Library.

2. *PS Manuscripts from Kashmir*

The birch bark (sign : *K*) From Roth's article 'Der Atharvaveda in Kashmir'[14] appears that the birch bark had been discovered in Śrīnagar prior to 26th April, 1873. According to Sir A. Stein,[15] it was in the possession or was obtained through Paṇḍit Dayarām Jotsī. Subsequently having been sent to Tübingen, it reached Roth in the summer of 1876.[16] The manuscript has been described briefly both by Roth[17] and Garbe.[18] It is written in Śāradā characters which Stein thinks to point to a time of writing about 300-400 years ago. As the date given in the ms. leaves out the century, this

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14. Tübingen 1875.

15. Jammu catalogue, see annotation.

16. See Whitney-Lanman *HOS* VII p. LXXXI.

17. In the Atti del IV congresso internationale degli orientalisti, Firenze 1878, Vol II p. 89–96 ('Un manuscript de l' Atharvaveda').

18. Systematisch-Alphabetischer Hauptkatalog der Königlichen Uhiversitätsbibliothek zu Tübingen, M. Handschriften, a. Orientalische, I. Verzeichnis der indischen Handschriften der königlichen Universitätsbibliothek, Zuwachs der Jahre 1865–1899; Tübingen 1899, p. 11f : "Śāradā character, birch bark, 286 (fol. 1 and 21 are missing, fol 2–6a, 22, 42 and 43 very defective) 14 to 21 × 11 to 16 cm., 13 to 23 lines per page. Saṃvat 95 without mentioning the centuary, probably from the 16th century, see Roth, loc. cit. p. 92.—Added are three fragments of leaves of the same substance and script, belonging to the same Veda." - this is Ms. no. M.a.I. 421 ; No. 422 is a paper box with small fragments from the birch bark. --

could mean 1519/20 or 1619/20 A.D.—As a fascimile of the ms. has been published[19] which is accessible in many public and private libraries of the world'[20] a further description is not necessary here.

But besides the famous birch bark, from which all inquries into the nature of the Kashmirian Paippa lada tradition have to start, there exist quite a few other PS texts copies in Kashmir during the last century.[21] Therefore, first of all, their position towards the birch bark ms. has to be clarified. As many of these mss. are not yet known generally, a short account of those known to me will be given here.

Roth's copy (*R*). This is a copy made for Prof. R. v. Roth in 1873 and was sent to Tübingen prior to the birch bark. It is written in the Kashmiri style of Devanāgarī, without accents. The first leaf had been missing when it reached Roth in November 1874.[22] This trans-

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19. By Bloomfield and Garbe, Baltimore/Stuttgart 1901; there is also a specimen page (fol 187) in Whitney's translation *HOS* VIII, frontispiece.

20. *HOS* VII p. LXXXII—but unfortunately not here, at Kathmandu.

21. If any copy or sub-copy did not attract my attention, I would be grateful if information about them could be made available to me.

22. A detailed description and discussion in Roths article: "Dēr Atharvaveda in Kaschmir", p. 12 sqq.—Unfortunately, from this it is not clear with which sūkta R actually starts.—Garbe's catalogue says: "dev. char., 409 fol., (fol. 1 missing, pagination is sometimes in disorder), size 24 to 26 cm × 10 cm, 9 lines per page, without date, but from the correspondence regarding this work (see Roth, loc. cit. p. 13, 14) it appears that the copy was made in 1873 at Śrīnagar".—cf. Whitney, HOS VII p. LXXXI.

cript was made from the birch bark in summer 1873, as appears from the letter of the Vakīl of the Mahārāja,[23] written on October 24, 1873 : 'he believed that the cause of delay [of sending the birch bark ms.] was that the possessor was having it copied with a view of retaining the copy.'[24] On January 8, 1874, there is a letter to the personal secretary of Sir W. Muir, who had carried out the negotiations with the Maharaja, stating that 'a parcel containing an original manuscript copy of the Atharvaveda this day received from HH the Mahārāja of Kashmir' was sent to Lahore. The book, however, which reached Roth ten months later was not the birch bark but the Devanāgarī copy. Roth started work on the PS with this copy (*R*) and made a collation with the Śaunaka version for his and Whitney's, his pupil's, use (*Rcol*). This collation is not complete,[25] but on the basis of this very sub-transcript Whitney

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23. For this letter and the following see Roth, loc. cit. p. 13 f.

24. It is not clear what has become of this copy. If Stein is right, that the birch bark originally belonged or was obtained through Dayārām Jotsī of Śrīnagar, a search for this copy should be made there, as the ms. must be a better copy than *K* in the form it reached Tübingen, and it could therefore, perhaps contain some leaves or fragments lost in *K* (and perhaps also in Roth's copy, *R*), especially when some leaves had been taken out of *K* on purpose—in order not to give a holy text to a Mleccha. This copy (*C*) must have been copied again for Bühler etc. (see below).—In this connection it has, however, to be remembered what Stein wrote in his article 'Eine Ferienreise nach Srinagar (Kaschmir) ; Allemeine Zeitung, IV No. 184 ff., München, Cotta 1889 p. 27 : 'many manuscripts which had still been hidden [by their owners at Bühler's time] have since then changed their owners'.

25. *HOS* VII p. LXXXIV.

prepared the notes on PS in his translation of the Śaunaka version.[26] It is therefore absolutely necessary to compare the facsimile edition of the birch bark or, at least, Barret's or Raghu Vira's readings of the birch bark ms. if one cannot read Śāradā script, rather than quoting Whitney's text without checking[27] (*Whi*).

The transcript *R* is of special importance for those parts of *K* which were destroyed or got lost during the process of transcription and on the way to Europe : *R* therefore contains some portions (especially in the beginning) which are now lost and not preserved in the facsimile. These portions are printed in italics in Barret's text on the basis of *R* and are quoted by Raghu Vira in his edition (but, there they have not been distinguished from *K*.[28]

Then, there is *Roth's autograph copy* made from the copy *R* but collated in some parts with *K*. This copy

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26. *HOS* VII p. LXXXI : the collation was finished in June 1884 (with some additions made up to 1894), only some portions have been compared by Roth with the birch bark !

27. Whitney, too, did not (nor did Lanman) compare the text with the facsimile of the birch bark (loc. cit. p. LXXXIII sqq.)

28. i.e. for instance, PS I 7, 3 upācāryaṃti Barret (on the basis of *R*,) upacaryaṁti (anunāsika !) Raghu Vira while K clearly reads upacaryantī !—Did Raghu Vira use another copy, perhaps the one indicated by the Cat. Cat. as belonging to the Panjab University Library ? (This is a rotograph copy of the Bombay ms. *M*, see below, annot 39)—cf. also Dipak Bhattacharyya ed. Vol II p. XX for other discrepancies in Barrets and Raghu Vira's transliteration, and see below annot 61.

was made by him in autumn 1884 (*Rau*). It is said to be more accurate than *R*[29]

At the time the copy for Roth was made, another one was written for the Mahārāja's collection in the Raghunāth temple[30] of *Jammu* (*J*). According to Sir A. Stein's catalogue it consists of 205 fol. and was copied from the birchbark.[31] in samvat 1932, i.e. 1874/75 A.D.

Another, copy was made for *Bühler* (*B*) at about the same time and was incorporated in the collection of the Deccan College Library.[32] This copy is probably

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29. *HOS* VII p. LXXXII.

30. Now : Dharmarth Trust, Jammu.—According to Steins cat. it bears the number 5275.—Unfortunately I was not allowed to make a microfilm of this early copy of K. All I got was a letter from the secretary of the trust saying that 'it is a policy matter' and I would be informed about their 'decision' in 'due course'.

31. No. 26 in Stein's Catalogue : 13 lines per page, 44 letters per line ; —In his introduction, Stein writes : the manuscript "would be of particular importance if it indeed were more than a recent transcript from the unique Bhūrja codex...The Jammu copy was prepared by order of Mahārāja Raṇbīr Singh previous to the despatch to Europe of the birch bark original which, if my information is correct, belonged to, or was obtained through, Paṇḍit Dayārām Jotsī. During a recent visit I paid to Tübingen, I was able through the kindness of my respected teacher to examine the writing of this, perhaps one of the most valuable of all existing Bhūrja manuscripts. Judging from what I had seen in Kashmir of Śārdā manuscrspts, the writing of codex did not appear to be older than about 300–400 years."

32. No. VIII. 1 in the catalogue of the collection of 1875/76 p. 73.

the one used by Śaṅkar Panduraṅ Paṇḍit in his AV-edition.[33] Probably about this copy I could gather some information at Śrīnagar : According to Paṇḍit Dīnanāth Yakṣa, it was copied by his grand-father Bālaka who had copied many texts professionally. Pt. Dīnanāth insisted that Bühler got a copy of the whole text (this information cannot apply to the next-mentioned ms. therefore), and he gave the date of the transcript as samvat 1943 (1886/87 A.D. . This, however, is about a decade too late, as the copy *B* was incorporated in the collection of the year 1875/76.

Yet another copy was made for Bühler and presented to the *Tübingen* University Library (*T*) where it reached in October 1877. It is also written in Devanāgarī of Kashmiri type but comprises only kāṇḍas VIII-XIX 14.1.[34]

Attached to this ms. are a few leaves with PS fragments also written in Devanāgarī and having been presented to the Tübingen University Library by Sir A. *Stein* in 1888 or 1889. They con ain some parts of the 18th and 14th kāṇḍa. (*S*).[35]

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33. Quoted by him in Vol IV p. 369—see *HOS* VII p. LXXXI.

34. Garbe's catalogue says : "dev. character, 222 fol. in European book form, 19 to 20 × 10 to 11 cm, 18 to 19 lines per page, modern copy with big thick letters similar to those of No. 16 [i.e. Roth's copy, *R*] Received from Prof. Bühler in 1877".

35. And might be some more fragments of other kāṇḍas, as Garbe's catalogue says : "7 leaves ('received from Stein at Śrinagar together with letter of Sept. 27, 1888') with fragments of the Paippalāda Atharvan. Dev. char. (similar to those of Bühler's ms.) ; 28–29 × 11 cm, 12 lines per page, with many lacunae. fol. 4a upper part : *ity atharvaṇike paippalādayaḥ* (sic)–*śākhyām aṣṭādaśakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ* ; fol. 6b *ity atharvaṇika-paippalādaś-śākhāyām caturdaśaḥ Kāṇdaḥ* (sic) *samāptaḥ*. The first three leaves bear the numbers 1–3, fol. 4 the number 331, fol. 6 : 158, fol. 7 159."—These fragmens therefore seem to represent another copy of *K* or are a sub-copy.

The Devanāgarī copy of the Asiatic Society of *Bombay* (mumba in Bhattacharyya's ed., here : *M*) was written in samvat 1925, i.e. already in 1867/68 A.D., and therefore prior to R. It contains fol. 4-10, 12-172, 176-220. Thus it begins only with PS I 18, 4, and according to D. Bhattacharyya,[36] PS I 72, 3-83, 2c is completely missing. The ms. has been described detailedly by Barret in JAOS L, p. 104 sqq. J.C. Wright[37] maintains that this manuscript "was transcribed in Kashmir from a subsequently lost sister ms. of the known Śāradā some years before Roth's discovery of the latter."[38] But he gives no reason[39] for this statement, which, therefore, has yet to be proved. Wright also informs that "a sub-transcript made in Bombay in 1898 for A. M. T. Jackson, was deliberately quartered after the manner of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and shared between the Bombay BRAS and India Office Libraries after Jackson's death in 1907." (signs : *Mja, Mjas. Mjio*).

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36. Introd. Vol II p. XIX.

37. *BSOAS* 30 p. 202 ; similarly already Barret, JAOS 1950 p. 111 : not a direct copy of the birch bark,—apparently on the basis of Jackson's description of a sub copy in the India Office Library catalogue No. 4530 (ms. No. 3604)=*Mjio*, see below.

38. The early date of copying is of course curious, but it must be remembered that in 1861, an elaborate process of copying important mss. for the Mahārāja's collection at Jammu had been started ; see Stein's catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Raghunāth Temple Library, Bombay 1894, introd.

39. Perhaps his statement is based on A.M.T. Jackson's description of *Mjio*=Ms. No. 3604 of the India Office Library (see : catalogue, No. 4530) : 174 fol., (59–138 missing), on British made paper in Devanāgarī ; contains Kāṇḍas I–IV, XVI–XVII ; Kāṇḍa I begins on fol. 1b ; cf. annot. No. 37 and 58 a).

—Finally,[40] there exists another copy, which I luckily here can introduce to the general public. It was shown to me during a recent visit of Kashmir by Pt. *Dīnanāth* in whose' family's possession it has been since his grandfather Bālaka copied it more than one hundred years ago. Pt Dīnanāth was so kind as to allow me to take a microfilm of this ms. (*D*), and I am thus in a position to give an account of it.

3. *Description of Pt. Dīnanath's copy.*

As most of the other Devanāgarī copies, this ms. also starts only with fol. 2 which is partly damaged by rat-eating.[41] The text begins with PS I 12, 1 (only last akṣara)[42]. But judging from the text portion usually contained on one folio, the first and now lost leaf could well have begun with I 5, 2 as does the birch bark.[43] The ms. is written in the usual style of Kashmiri Devanāgarī but bears traces of the transcription

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40. From the New Catalogus Catalogorum s. v. Atharvaveda appears that there might be some more copies I could not yet see : Panjab University Library, (*MP*) which accordiug to the catalogue (Vol. II, app.) only seems to be a rotograph copy of *M* ; Bhau Daji Memorial, and perhaps one in the Diary of Pt. R. A. Sastri (at Śrīnagar. Res. Dept : This, of course, could be *D.*, as Pt· Dīnanāth keeps it in the Library now.)

41. This has happened unfortunately quite recently in the Paṇḍit's new undiminished house. Pt. Dīnanāth says he has searched for the first leaf a lot but could not find it : perhaps it has been eaten.

42. Being *ha* /1/ : apparently the following–*saḥ* as in the Or. text has been dropped.

43. The average number of verses per page being 14 to 15 ; for the birch bark see PS, Vol I p. 4.

from a Śarada original.[44] It comprises 106 fol. and ends abruptly in kāṇḍa XIV with the verse : *ye devāṁ* (sic !) *ṛtvijo yajñiyāso manor yaja* at the end of fol. 106 b. — One page contains 14 lines with about 40 akṣaras per line. On the upper left margin of the reverse side of each leaf, the title of the text is indicated by the abbreviation (one akṣara below each other) : *a ve*, and then the number of the leaf is added. Beginning with fol. 33, an additional akṣara indicating the kāṇḍa by the beginning syllable of the Sanskrit numeral is inserted : thus, *a ve tṛ* 33 etc.[45] On the lower right a margin of the reverse side, the page number is repeated under the ward *oṁ*. The text is corrected, showing the corrector's remarks on the margins in a smaller hand written with a sharper pen than the text with its broad feather.

Fol. 2 shows the usual lacunae of all transcriptions made from the birch bark. These are meticulously indicated by space left without writing and filled in by double dashes[46], like - - - - etc. This indication of missing text in the original, however, is not always correct in proportion to the text actually missing, as can be seen now from a comparison with the Orissa text of the PS.

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44. Such as the retaining of the Śāradā character for *ku*, and the adding of a small triangle at the right top pf the Dev. letter *ḍa* to express the Vedic–ḷ–

45. Kāṇḍa II starts on fol. 17b, III on 31b, IV on 41a, V on 51a, VI on 63a, VII on 7a, VIII on 76a, IX on 83a, X on 92b, XI on 97a, XII on 99b, XIII on 102b, XIV on 105a.

46. Indicated in the sequel by..., irrespective of the number of dashes.

On fol. 2a, the following portions are preserved: PS I 12, 1 last word: [ca. two akṣaras missing by rat eating[47]] *ha /1/ misraś ca* etc. up to: I 12, 4 *amitrā ... ṇena śṛṣṭo ma*[*ru*]*dbhir ugraḥ pra ... thivī paridadāsi sa mā ... ūrjam* (13,2a) etc. up to: 14, 1d: *me maṃ prā ... ye vo devā pitarō ye ca pu ... te cam ugdhaṃ* (14 2b) *sarvebhyo vaḥ parida di ... aṃtarikṣa oṣadhīṣy apsu ... se na yathā /2/ ye devā kṛṇu ... tam anyan* etc. up to 15, 1a: *ahaṃ te bhagaṃ ādade dhi ṣeṣṇayava sṛja* (end of fol. 2a, beginning of 2b:) [2akṣ eaten] *mūlaiva parvato jyogapatiriṣvāsāsahi* /1/ etc. up to 16, 1a: *kṛṣṇe apikna ta ... ki* [*lā*] *saṃ ca pa ... tvā so ṣṇatām va ...* [1 akṣ eaten] *t*(?) *pralayanāmā ... nirato nāśaya bhi ...* [1 akṣ eaten] *nūjasya ca yit tvāsi* (in 16.4b) etc. up to: 18, 1a: *ā*[*y*] *ātu mitra ṛtubhi ... māṇaḥ saṁveśāyan· pṛthivīm uśriyābhiḥ tad asma ...* [*ś*] *ya dadhātu* /1/ *... prati gṛhaṃtu me va ...* [3 akṣ eaten] *ānāṃ madhyam eṣṭhā ... tāram* (18, 3a) *namobhir viśvāṃ devāṃham uttaratve ayam agnir dīdāya* (end of fol 2b.).

From here onwards[48], the ms. shows no lacunae marked by the scribe, except the following ones:

I.68, 4d: *kuvīras asya śīrṣṇārṇi kumbhaṃ cāvani da ... /* (fol. 10 b); I.72, 2d ends: *°āyasī ...*, and from

47. Always one or two akṣaras are eaten away by rats on the left margin of fol. 2a; here indicated by [ ] with text filled in from *Or.*

48. By mistake the next fol. is numbered 4 instead of 3, but there is no break in the text which continues with I 18, 3c: *dahanam eva* etc. The numbers after the stanzas are to be found on the first leaves only. After them, only the anuvākas are numbered. After I 50, the designation "10th anuvāka" has been forgotten in the ed. of Bhattacharyya.

here onwards, the rest of the page (fol. 11a), i.e. 3 lines, is marked as missing by the scribe, on the next page, fol. 11b, too, the first one and half lines are marked as missing by dashes; the text starts again in I 73, 3c with *ṣvapiprate agne* etc.; four lines further on, again some lacuna is met with : the text ends in 74, 3a with *mṛdahas te saṁsrāla va* . . . Then; 4 1/2 lines are marked as missing and the text continues with *bhrātṛn bahulān* in 75, 2c. — On fol. 12a, a few akṣaras are marked missing in 76, 4a : *pratibodhaś caturakṣo . . . śrameva* and in 77,4c : *apāṃ napa . . . m aśvino huve dhiya,* but the last one and half lines on this page are marked missing again, the text ending in 79,1d with *yamaśvatthādhi . . . ,* and then, the whole following page (fol. 12b) and about 5 lines of 13a are marked missing, the text beginning again with *kṣāyaṇā hiraṇyaṁ* in 83 c. — The next lacuna[49] occurs in II 41, 1 where about half a line is indicated to be missing, but surprisingly, in the Orissa text nothing is missing : *ud asau sūryo agād ud ayaṁ māsako . . . bhagaḥ tenāhaṁ vidvalā* etc. (fol. 24a). In Bhattacharyya's ed. unfortunately nothing is said about the state of the birch bark here, but probably there is a knot-hole or some other unevenness in *K* or the scribe of *K* has marked some supposed lacuna in his original this way (see below), and that was copied by *D*. — Another lacuna occurs on fol. 26b in II 59, 7bc which reads : *divas tvā pātu hāritaṁ madhyā tvā . . . ṣyādi svayam pātu* etc.—On fol. 27a, there are some smaller and one big lacunae extending all over fol. 27b, too : II 60, 2b is represented as *vṛhu . . . tasya* —

49. II 22, 4b seems to have been left out in *D* because of the repetition of the ending syllables *udbhiḥ* in 4b and c : it seems to have been retained in *K*, acc. to the ed. of Bhattacharyya.

asmābhir dattaṃ jarasaḥ parastād . . . ma / ; II 60, 4b : *ya . . . vahāśchevadhiṃ* etc. ; 4d : *taṃ sa janīta . . . san* / 4 / ; 5a : *jānīta . . . iṣṭāpūrtam anu . . .* The rest of the page (ca. 8 1/2 lines) and fol. 27b are left blank, indicating the lost portion by some dashes in the first and last lines.—The text starts again on fol. 28a, line 1 with : II 65,5 *ro adya prayuṃga damayā sapatnān ṛte rājā varuṇo bravītu* etc., thus repeating a verse which in Or. already appeared as verse 2. There are no more lacunae then, except a short one in the VIIth kāṇḍa 2nd anuvāka II, kāṇḍa : *amīvāścātayā . . . sarvāś ca* on fol. 72b.

The ms. often mentions the names of specific sūktas, such as : *agnisūkta* II, 47 ; *rakṣamantra* III, 11 ; and III, 23, too ; *śraddhābrāhmaṇa* (!) at the end of anuvāka 5 of kāṇḍa VI.

Small spaces often indicate the end of a pada or verse, the verses being numbered throughout only on the first leaves ; the sūktas within an anuvāka are numbered throughout the ms., as are the anuvākas.—There are colophons to the separate Kāṇḍas, such as : *ity atharvaṇi(ka)paippalādaśākhāyāṁ ṣaṣṭhaḥ kāṇḍaḥ* /6/ etc.

4. *Relation between the birch bark. D and M.*[50]

Paṇḍit Dīnanāth's ms. (*D*) must have been copied from the birch bark (*K*) : this clearly is to be seen from the many instances where both *K* and *D* show the same lacunae, either because of peeling-off in *K* or because of slipping over several words by the scribe of *K*. Such

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50. This account refers only to PS I–IV because of the lack of essential books in the Kāṭhmaṇḍū Libraries.

slips are the following ones. The portions in brackets have been taken from the *Or.* version as it appears in Bhattacharyya's edition. In *D*, there is no indication at all of a missing portion (such as done in other parts by dashes) :

I 17, 1c *tanva ṛjugo Or*, *tatvago K*,[51] *D* ; 31, 4a *nam* (*a kuṣṭh*)*asy D*, *K* ; 32 4b (*namo*) *D*, *K* ; 65, 3a *ma no ri* (*ṣat*) *khanitā K*, *D* ; 75, 3b (*indra*) *K*, *D* ; 76, 4a (*divyo a*) *śram K*, *D* ; 79, 1d (*rohasi*) *D*, *K* ; 89, 2a (*jahya*) *K*, *D* ; II 89, 1a (*ayaṃ*) *K*, *D* ; III 2, 4c-5a *vi* (*kṣetriyasya* . . . etc. . . . *kriyamāṇāyāḥ*) *kṣetriyam K*, *D* ; 15, 5d 6a *dūṣaṇam* (*udbhare*) *agrabham K*, *D* ; 25, 7a-c (. . .) *rvratya K*, (. . .) *rvaṇtya D* ; IV 39, 3a.b *bāhu* (*ryaju*) *ryo K*, *D*.

The comparison of the broken off parts in *K*[52] yields the same result. Thus, in the mutilated portion of I 72, 3-83, 2, wherever *K* is destroyed. *D* has got a lacuna, too.[53] Again, I 16[54] and 18, 1 is missing both in *K* and *D*. In the parts missing in the birch bark, comprising II 63.64.1 too, *D* has got a lacuna.

But *D* has also preserved some text portions which are missing in *K*. (The parts missing in *K* are set within brackets).

I 13, 1c (*pari*) *dadāmi D* (Bhattacharya does not quote *K* here) ; 19, 4b (*vittānyagne*) *D* ; 28, 2d (*ātho*) *D* ;

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51. *K* is quoted according to the notes in Bhattacharyya's ed.

52. The remark in the Bh. ed. is not very clear here, as to the exact part of the destroyed text.

53. Except 73, 3c–74, 2a, see below.

54. Ed. not very clear here.

53, 4.5 *sarve* / (*anyaiś ca*) / *samanu D* ; 62, 3c *nayātyati*) *viśvasya Or*., *nayānavi D*, *nayāvi K* (no indication of a missing part in *D*, here) ; 76, 3c *pratyag daṃṣṭrātyabhyām abhi* D ; *pratyaga* xxx *bhyām abhi K*.

There are also some longer passages where *D* has preserved the text broken off in *K* :

I 14, 2.3 are 'vaikalpatī' in *K*, while *D*, preserves much (see above) ; I 16, 1 is not very clear : *D* preserves what in *K* is 'bāhulyena truṭitā' ; II 60, 3-5 seem to be missing in *K*, while *D* has got the text, with some lacunae (see above) ; IV 7, 8 *aṃgād amgād ahaṃ tava puruṣaḥ* /1/ *D*, while this is said to be missing in *K*.

This is especially the case where passages in *K* have been mutilated to great extent: I 74, 2a—75, 2c, 77, 3.4, and 78, 1.2 are preserved in *D*, but lost in *K*.

From all this appears that *D* has been copied *before* *K* was sent to Europe, and, perhaps even before *R* (Roth's Dev. copy of 1873) was made.[55] This, unfortunately, cannot be controlled by me now, but if *R* has preserved more than *D* in the cases mentioned above, it would have been indicated by Barret.

Pt. Dīnanāth's ms. cannot, however, be a direct copy of *K* as it was preserved before being sent to Europe and before *R* had been copied, because there are some passages which are preserved in *K* but lost in *D* : I 68, 4d *nidadhmasi Or*, *K*, but *nida---D* ; 68, 5 *vaṃ mayā āmuṣ-*

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55. Unfortunately, the first fol. of *D* is missing, where already Roths copy (*R*) has preserved more than the birch bark.

yāri K,---*sayā āmuṣyāri D* ; II 60, 2b *prajapatiḥ Or*, *bṛhaṣpatiḥ K*, but *bṛha---D* ; IV 19, 1c *mahaṃ mṛṣyasāvasau K*, *mṛṣyasau D* (haplography !) ; II 61-65 seem to have been left out altogether because of their fragmentary character in *K* : thus, *D* does not always mark lacunae correctly, although generally it is quite accurate. In IV 36, 1b, an *a* seems to have been broken off in *K* as stated by Raghu Vira, but there is no indication of a missing akṣara in *D* : *ye(a)prathetam.*[56]

Some peculiarities of writing, too, show that there must have been an intermediate copy from which *D* was copied again. A very instructive case is II 21, 5c :

tayopaprayāhi taṃ yaḥ Or (mss. read tayopri)
tayopapratāri to yaḥ K
trayopaḥpūṣahi taṃ yaḥ D

If *K* is written distinctively here, the reading *taṃ* in *D* is quite unintelligible.[57] It is explained, however, when *—o—* in *K* is written by the usual type of flourish, which almost looks like anunāsika (ṁ) if the middle joint has been slightly damaged. Thus a broken *taṃ* in *K* could be copied as such in *D* (anunāśika is generally converted to anusvara), but because of subsequent damaging it is now read as *to* in *K*. The other corruptions here are explained easily : *pra K* can be misread into *pū D* if the *—r—* was written in the older style, *ri*

56. See discussion in ed. Bhattacharyya Vol. II p. XX.

57, If this was not an isolated case, such a reading might even point to a sister ms. of *K*, but this is not possible on account of the many corresponding missing parts of the beginning and in II.

can be the rest of a *hi*, while *trayo*—*D* seems to be the scribe's 'learned' correction for *tayo*—. Other cases include : IV 19, 1c *sa ca na marati Or*, *ma jana marati D*, *so cin nu na marati K* ; II 57, 3 *śmaśanāni manasā Or*, *śmaśanānā namasā D*,[58] *śaśamāna namasā K* ; I 19, 4a *aiṣām Or*, *D*, *eṣām K*.

If all these instances have been quoted correctly in Bhattacharyya's edition, it almost looks as if the intermediate copy had been corrected according to a better manuscript (cf. Bühler, Report p. 34).

Another typical case of disagreement between *K* and *D* is the number of verses in IV 23, where the order of *Or* (3-4-5-6) is given as 5-6-4-3 in *K* but as 6-5-3-4 in *D*.

Possibly, the intermediate copy, which has to be supposed because of the differences in spite of the many agreeing factors[59] in *K* and *D*, had not been written in Devanāgarī but in Śāradā and was thus meant for the use of a local Paṇḍit.[60] This can be made probable by a study of *M*, the copy of the Asiatic Society of Bombay.

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58. *Namasā* apparently because of *namasā* in 2 ; but the change from *manasā* to *namasā* happens quite often, see AVP I 7 : AVS II, 2.2.3. : KaṭhĀ 99.

59. These agreeing parts, such as the missing portions due to peeling off in *K* do not allow to suppose the existence of a sister ms. of *K* from which *D* would have been copied.

60. Even nowadays, some Paṇḍits copy well known texts which have been printed in Devanāgarī for their own use in Śāradā script (of which, there exist no printing types)—because of their dislike for Devanāgarī script.

Generally, this ms. agrees with *D*. Unfortunately, *M* has been quoted only very seldom in Bhattacharyya's edition so that a thourough comparison of *M* and *D* cannot be carried out right now. But even the few quotations of *M* in the edition show that it belongs to the same subgroup of copies as Pt. Dīnanāth's ms. :

I 19, 3a *asmai Or*, *asya K*, *asmin D*, *M*; I 27 3c *ārad Or*, *āgād K*, *āvad D*, *M;* I 58 1a *Kāvavasya Or*, *Kaṣṭhasya K*, *kāvvasya M*, *kāḥvasya D;* 58, 4a *kāvavasya Or*, *kāṣṭhasya K*, *kāvyasya M*, *kāvdhasya D;* I 63 1b *ākṣiyet Or*, *ākṣitaṃ K*, *ākṣīta D*, *M;*—in the introduction to the second volume of Bhattacharyya's edition, where *M* has otherwise never been quoted in the readings (if I have seen correctly), a few more instances can be found: III 1, 4d *rūrupaḥ Or rūrupaḥ K*, *tūrupaḥ DM* writing mistake); IV 32, 6a *'sy Or*, *asy K* according to Barret, *asmy K* according to Raghu Vira, *assy M*, *assy D* (writing mistake); II 1, 1c *athedam Or*, *yathedas K*, *D*, *yathedam M* (writing mistake);

The nature of these disagreements suggests that the intermediate copy from which *M*, too, must have been copied, was written in Śāradā. This would explain the mingling of *m/s* in *yathedas*, also the curious development of *kāṣṭhasya* in *K* to the forms written in *M* and *D*; While kāṣṭhasya *K* seems to be a contraction of a form *kāvavaṣya* >*kāvvasya* in the ms., from which *K* was copied and there by misread to *kāṣṭhasya* in *K*, the group ṣṭ (h) could be interpreted as *-ṣy-*or even*-vvdh-*especially if a bit damaged. *kāḥvasya* seems to be the writer's usual sandhi change of (here a supposed) Kashmiri Sandhi *kāṣ-vasya* to *kāḥ-vasya*: In verse 1a, the upper part of the ligature in the intermediate copy seems to have

looked more like a-v, while in verse 4a the lower part must have been unclear, so that it could be interpreted both as —*dh*— or —*y*—. A very instructive case is also

1 76, 3c: *pratyaga x x x bhyām abhi K*, but.
pratyag daṃṣṭratyābhym ábhi D

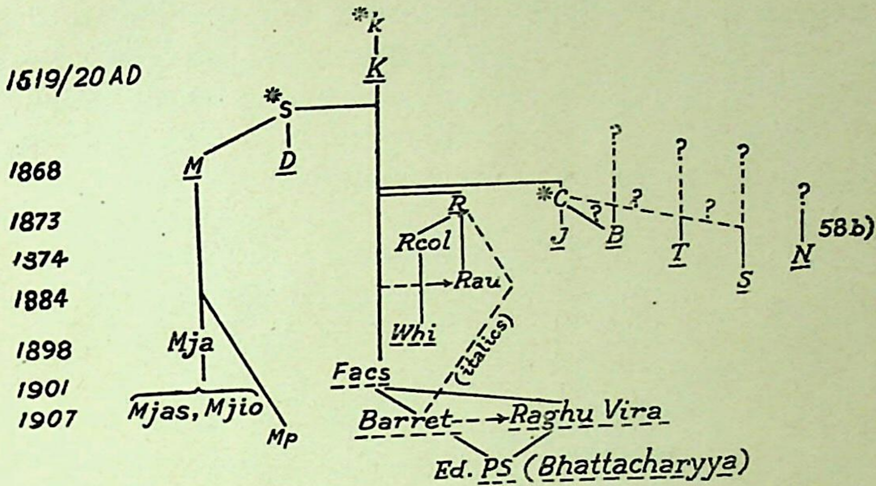
Here, a writing mistake *bhya>tya* seems to have occured which was corrected even while writing by marking the surplus akṣara with three strokes on top of it, while the strokes were forgotten or misinter preted by the scribe of *D* thus producing the surplus syllable in D. The very kind of writing mistake (*bhya>tya*), if actually made by the copyist of *D* would clearly point to a Śāradā intermediate copy, but one cannot be sure about this point, as in *K* already three akṣaras seem to be missing and the writing of *M* is not recorded in Bhattacharyya's edition. If the writing mistake was made already by the scribe of *K*, this would, by the way, point to a Śāradā original from which *K* has been copied (and not, for instance a Kannada one brougnt by Yuddhabhaṭṭa).

The above mentioned instances (even if the last one is left out) make a Śāradā copy probable, but I here cannot prove[60] it as I cannot control *K* for ambiguous writings which might be involved in these cases.

For these mss. the following line of descent can therefore be given now :

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60. Even nowadays, some Paṇḍits copy well known texts which have been printed in Devanāgarī for their own use in Śāradā script (of which, there exist no printing types)—because of their dislike for Devanāgarī script.



5. *The interrelation of K.J.B.T.S.*

From this scheme, which is necessarily tentative in part, one can clearly see that the different copies of *K* are also of different value for a text-critical study of the Kashmirian branch of the Paippalāda tradition.

The basis of all work, should of, course, be *K*, as the original from which probably all the other mss. have been copied. *M*, *D*, and also *R* are of importance for those parts which have been destroyed or lost in *K* at the time of copying (*R*, *C*) and on the way to Lahore and Europe. Otherwise they are only interesting so far as to see certain rules of copying mistakes and even influence of the pronunciation while copying. *Mja* (divided into *Mjas* and *Mjio* and *MP*) could only be of

61. (58b of the above block) Jackson's description of the India Office Library ms. No. 3604 (Cat. No. 4530) gives some additional proof: *Mjio* being a sub copy of *M*, it has—as far as Jackson provides us with extracts, exactely the same readings as *D* (in II 57, quoted by Jackson as 'II 12'); but *D* is in some instances still more complete than *M* (*Mjio*) or *K*, thus showing it was copied from *K* of the *first* of all known copies.—A typical disagreement between *D* and *Mjio* as *uttaro dviṣataṃ puran* *Mjio* : *Uttaro dviṣato bhava puraṃ* D against points to an intermediate Śāradā copy *Ś* (*aṁ* : *o*).

interest if they should have preserved portions which subsequently might have been lost in *M*. *Rau, Rcol* and *Whitney's* notes in his translation also have not to be consulted, as they do not contain a better or more extensive text than either *K* or its early copy *R*.

Unfortunately, the position of *J*, *B*, *T* and *S* is not yet clear. From Stein's Jammu Catalogue appears that *J* is only 'a recent transcript from the unique Bhūrja codex', but it is not yet clear whether it was copied directly from *K* or from an intermediate copy*C which has to be supposed because of the Vakīl's letter of Oct. 1873 (see above, under paragraph 2). According to Stein, 'the Jammu copy was prepared by order of the Mahārāja Raṇbir Singh previous to the dispatch to Europe of the birch bark original.' If this information is correct, *J* would be a direct copy of *K* and could, therefore, contain some portions which might be better preserved than *R*. Unfortunately, I am not in a position to find out whether *J* is a direct copy or not because I was recently not allowed to film the ms., this being 'a matter of policy' of the Dharmarth Trust.

As for *B*, the copy Bühler obtained for the Deccan College, it could be a copy of an independent ms. if Pt. Dīnanāth's tradition is correct that it originally belonged to the Rājānaka family : The birch bark, however, is said to have been obtained or to have belonged to Pt. Dayārām Jotsī. But even if *B* only is an early copy of *K* it might be interesting for the lost portions in *K*.—The position of *T* and *S* is yet completely unclear, though it would be strange that Bühler sent another PS copy to Tübingen when *R* was already there (and that

he must have known). Perhaps he had a reason for doing so and *B* is of some interest, too.

As for Barret's and Raghu Vira's transliterations, Dīpak Bhattacharyya has expressed some doubt about Barret's fidelity in transliterating *K*.[62] While I could not control Barret's text here, I could do so for a single leaf[63] of *K* compared with Raghu Vira's transliteration. Not only do Barret's and Raghu Vira's transliterations disagree in some points, as pointed out by Bhattacharyya, but there are so many misreadings, oversights, and also ambiguities in Raghu Vira's transliteration[64]

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62. Dipak Bhattacharyya, ed. Vol. II, p. XX has given some examples.

63. From the birch bark : fol 187a in HOS VIII, frontispiece.

64. Fol. 187a begins with PS XIX 63, 8d *dhāmaṃ* etc —the ambiguities, mistakes and misreadings are : *pūrv..ñ jāta*° *K*, पूत्रनि् जा° Raghu Vira, without reading in col. 3 ; *vṛkkṣāḥ śere K*, *vṛṣāḥś śere Rgh* (without reading) ; *prakṣin:tyarpaya K*, *prakṣiṇ'ty* printed - प्रक्षिणीत्य्) Rgh., misleading because of the peculiar type of word division by breaking the Sandhi : there are cases in *K* where Virāma has been applied similarly (see below), therefore confusion might arise ; the same : भुङ्क्ति while *K* without Virama ; *dipsantiye K*, *Rgh*. col. 3 : * *evaṃ* * * *e* * * ; *dīpsanty evāsya raṣṭradi— psavaḥ* (—is long as 2 Akṣaras) *K*, unmarked by *Rgh* ; 64, 7c : *sapatnās tvam K*, *sapatnāṃs tvaṃ* Rgh ; *sarvāṇ ati*, while इति col. 3 is misleading : *K* has °*niti* ; 8a : *jāta* (line ends, next line :) *tavedasi K*, *jātavedasi Rgh*, without remark ; *yathāsmiñ K*, °*min Rgh*, also in 65, 3a) ; 8b : *kīrti K*, *kīrtiṃ Rgh*, without reading ; 8d मान् col. 3 *Rgh* could be interpreted as *Rgh's* peculiarity of printing erferred to above, but actually, *K* reads : *mān with* Virāma too Virama in *K* often appears even within a pāda : this is not noted by *Rgh*, as also, for instance in 65, 4 *nityaśchatu* ! *K*) ; 9b *yas ca Rgh* : Virāma only his way of word division, *yaś ca K* ; 63, 9 *vārayiṣṭate* ! *K*, °*ta*

that it is absolutely necessary to control the facsimile fo the birch bark itself when gathering the readings for a passage. This also has got the inherent advantage that one is *only then* in a position to find out which ambiguities of the Śāradā script might have led the scribe of *K* to write the corrupt form actually preserved in *K*.

(to be concluded in the next Vol.)

(without daṇḍa) *Rgh* ; 65, 4 *samaktu mām K samanaktu mām Rgh* (without reading) ; 65, 4 a ā́*hitam* (with udātta on ā), *K*, without accent marks *Rgh* who begins them only in 66, but there are a few ones to be found even before this sūkta; 66: *madya-mo* (2 Akṣ marked missing) *K*, the reason here seems to be a knot in the birch bark. Thus apart from the fact that Vol. II and III was *Rgh's* ed. are hardly accessible in Europe due to the war, the above review of only one page of the birch bark shows that constant recourse to *K* itself is necessary. It might be 'natural for those who have no previous knowledge of Śāradā script . . . to use the excellent transliteration of Barret and also facsimile readings miniutely recorded or indicated in Raghu Vira's edition' (D. Bhattacharyya in ed. Vol. II, p. XX) but unfortunately, the readings of *K* have *not* been given 'minutely'.

LIST OF OUR PUBLICATIONS

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